

By Mr. KIRWAN.

H. R. 6286. A bill for the relief of Francesca Cammarata; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H. R. 6287. A bill for the relief of George Estaban Leal; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1801. By Mr. ALBERT: Petition of Mrs. T. G. Johnson et al., of Ardmore, Okla., favoring a world federal government with limited powers adequate to maintain peace, and for the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 59, calling for Charter amendments to the UN to enact, interpret, and enforce world law to prevent war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1802. By Mr. DIRKSEN: Petition of Peoria Post, No. 2, Inc., the American Legion, Peoria, Ill., consisting of several thousand names, in support of H. R. 4482; to the Committee on House Administration.

1803. By Mr. NORBLAD: Petition signed by V. J. Frink and 35 other citizens of Yamhill County, Oreg., endorsing a system of universal military training, as recommended by the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1804. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Grace Burkhardt and others, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the endorsement of H. R. 4482, a bill to bar un-American parties from the election ballot; to the Committee on House Administration.

1805. Also, petition of Francine Finck and others, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to opposition to universal military training and selective service; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1806. Also, petition of Mrs. Jeanette Goldberg and others, of Cleveland, Ohio, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the investigation of the conduct of the war-crimes trials before the United States military tribunals at Nuremberg, Germany, especially those relating to German industrial leaders such as I. G. Farbenindustrie and the Krupp steel combine; to the Committee on Armed Services.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1948

(Legislative day of Monday, March 29, 1948)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

Rev. Oscar F. Blackwelder, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

Father of all mankind, we bring before Thee the sufferings, the problems, the hopes of this earth. We pray for all who seek in private life and public office to work with Thee to complete this unfinished world and make it a place where the humblest and highest may work and live in peace and freedom.

We thank Thee for our country's call to world leadership. Wilt Thou increasingly raise up among us world leaders after Thy will in church and state.

O God, we pray Thee to grant Thy light, wisdom, and courage to each Mem-

XCIV—294

ber of this body. In the name of Christ. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. WHERRY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, April 20, 1948, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment the following bills and joint resolutions of the Senate:

S. 329. An act for the relief of Gentaro Takahashi;

S. 560. An act to prohibit the operation of gambling ships, and for other purposes;

S. 936. An act for the relief of Burnett A. Pyle;

S. 1021. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to pay salaries and expenses of the chairman, secretary, and clerk of the Fort Peck General Council, members of the Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board, and other committees appointed by said Fort Peck General Council, and official delegates of the Fort Peck Tribes;

S. 1263. An act for the relief of Fire District No. 1 of the Town of Colchester, Vt.;

S. 1304. An act to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of Minnesota as a Territory of the United States;

S. 1312. An act for the relief of Jeanette C. Jones and minor children;

S. 1468. An act providing for payment of \$50 to each enrolled member of the Mescalero Apache Indian Tribe from funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States;

S. 1583. An act to provide for the conveyance to the State of Maryland, for the use of the University of Maryland, of the northern portion of a parcel of land previously constituting a part of the campus of the university and previously conveyed by the State of Maryland to the United States for the use of the Bureau of Mines;

S. 1696. An act to amend the act of August 13, 1940 (54 Stat. 784), so as to extend the jurisdiction of the United States District Court, Territory of Hawaii, over Canton and Enderbury Islands;

S. 2278. An act to authorize the sale of certain public lands in San Juan County, Utah, to the Southwest Indian Mission, Inc.;

S. J. Res. 189. Joint resolution to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in honor of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma; and

S. J. Res. 207. Joint resolution to provide for the commemoration of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the establishment of the Department of the Navy.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 608) authorizing and directing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to Growing Four Times, with an amendment in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with amendments in

which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 714. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to Claude E. Milliken; and

S. 2195. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the District of Columbia Emergency Rent Act, approved December 2, 1941, as amended.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 1799) for the relief of Eva L. Dudley, Grace M. Collins, and Guy B. Slater.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills and joint resolutions, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 706. An act to record the lawful admission to the United States for permanent residence of Karl Frederick Kucker;

H. R. 838. An act for the relief of Frank J. Patzke, Archie Mitchell, J. L. Shoemaker, Einar Engen, and N. L. Gifford;

H. R. 851. An act for the relief of Adney W. Gray;

H. R. 926. An act for the relief of Dora Greenbaum (Brenner);

H. R. 1562. An act to increase temporarily the amount of Federal aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States;

H. R. 2064. An act for the relief of Michael Palazotta;

H. R. 2193. An act for the relief of Robert E. Graham;

H. R. 2352. An act to provide for sale to the Crow Tribe of interests in the estates of deceased Crow Indian allottees;

H. R. 2359. An act to authorize the payment of a lump sum, in the amount of \$100,000, to the village of Highland Falls, N. Y., as a contribution toward the cost of construction of a water-filtration plant, and for other purposes;

H. R. 2732. An act for the relief of Dennis Stanton;

H. R. 2785. An act for the relief of the New Amsterdam Casualty Co.;

H. R. 2897. An act for the relief of the Marden Construction Co., Inc.;

H. R. 2918. An act for the relief of the Sumner County Colored Fair Association;

H. R. 3006. An act for the relief of Laura Spinnichia;

H. R. 3114. An act for the relief of the estate of John Deiman;

H. R. 3358. An act for the relief of Dr. Timothy C. H. Liang and Dr. Esther Chang Liang;

H. R. 3578. An act to reduce in area the Parker River National Wildlife Refuge in Essex County, Mass., and for other purposes;

H. R. 3633. An act to amend section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, designating certain public lands as available home lands;

H. R. 3635. An act to ratify sections 1 and 2 of Joint Resolution 7 enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii in its regular session of 1947;

H. R. 3680. An act to amend sections 207, 213, 215, 216, 220, 222, and 225 of title 2 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, as amended;

H. R. 3785. An act to authorize the State of Minnesota to condemn lands owned by the United States in the county of Cass, State of Minnesota, for fish propagation, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3954. An act to approve Act No. 74 of the Session Laws of 1947 of the Territory of Hawaii, entitled "An act relating to revenue bonds of the Territory of Hawaii," and Act No. 95 of the Session Laws of 1947 of

the Territory of Hawaii, entitled "An act relating to Territorial and county public improvements and the financing thereof by the issuance of revenue bonds";

H. R. 3965. An act for the relief of John H. Schmitt and Mrs. Mildred Schmitt;

H. R. 4091. An act to ratify Act 237 of the Session Laws of Hawaii, 1947;

H. R. 4199. An act for the relief of George Haniotis;

H. R. 4201. An act to authorize payments to the public-school district or districts serving the Fort Peck project, Montana, for the education of dependents of persons engaged on that project;

H. R. 4381. An act for the relief of the Yellow Cab Transit Co., of Oklahoma City;

H. R. 4484. An act for the relief of Theodore Loetsch;

H. R. 4512. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain land to the State of Oklahoma for the use and benefit of the Northeastern State College at Tahlequah, Okla.;

H. R. 4551. An act to provide for the addition of certain surplus Government lands to the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area project, and for other purposes;

H. R. 4642. An act to provide for disposition and use of tribal funds of the Navajo Tribe of Indians;

H. R. 4804. An act to allow service credit for certain enlisted men of the Coast Guard who acted as policemen and guards at the Ivigtut Cryolite Mine, Greenland, during 1940 and 1941;

H. R. 4817. An act to amend the act of July 23, 1947 (61 Stat. 409) (Public Law No. 219, 80th Cong.);

H. R. 4892. An act to amend the act of July 23, 1947 (61 Stat. 409) (Public Law No. 219, 80th Cong.);

H. R. 4966. An act directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and lease certain houses, apartments, and lands in Boulder City, Nev.;

H. R. 5040. An act to amend the Contract Settlement Act of 1944, to provide that claims under section 17 must be filed within 6 months to be allowable, to stop further accrual of such claims, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5155. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to have made by the Public Roads Administration and the National Park Service a joint reconnaissance survey of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal between Great Falls, Md., and Cumberland, Md., and to report to the Congress upon the advisability and practicability of constructing thereon a parkway, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5173. An act to amend section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, designating certain public lands as available home lands;

H. R. 5174. An act to authorize Commodity Credit Corporation to make adjustment payments to certain producers of raw cane sugar in Puerto Rico and Hawaii;

H. R. 5175. An act to confirm and ratify Act 205 of the Session Laws of 1947 of the Territory of Hawaii, relating to the issuance of public-improvement bonds;

H. R. 5244. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to allow credit in connection with certain homestead entries for military or naval service rendered during World War II";

H. R. 5262. An act to authorize the sale of individual Indian lands acquired under the act of June 18, 1934, and under the act of June 26, 1936;

H. R. 5434. An act authorizing the Attorney General of the United States to recognize and to award to outstanding courageous young Americans a medal for heroism known as the Young American Medal for Bravery, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5553. An act to amend paragraph 1772 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended;

H. R. 5609. An act to authorize the survey of a proposed Mississippi River Parkway for the purpose of determining the feasibility of such a national parkway, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5651. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in South Dakota for municipal or public purposes;

H. R. 5669. An act to provide for adjustment of irrigation charges on the Flathead Indian irrigation project, Montana, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5816. An act to amend the act of April 25, 1947, relating to the establishment of the Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5822. An act to establish the Saratoga National Historical Park, in the State of New York, from the lands that have been acquired by the Federal Government for that purpose pursuant to the act of June 1, 1938 (52 Stat. 608), and for other purposes;

H. R. 5839. An act to authorize the conveyance to States or political subdivisions, of roads leading to certain historical areas administered by the Department of the Interior, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5870. An act to amend the act of May 16, 1946 (Public Law 383, 79th Cong.), as amended, to provide increased allowances for the escorts of repatriated war dead;

H. R. 6039. An act to authorize the permanent appointment in the Regular Army of one officer in the grade of general and to authorize the permanent appointment in the Regular Air Force of one officer in the grade of general, and for other purposes;

H. R. 6224. An act for the relief of John Watkins;

H. J. Res. 333. Joint resolution to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the termination of the war with Spain; and

H. J. Res. 354. Joint resolution to provide for the disposing of the Government irrigation experiment station at Bard, Calif., and the establishment in lieu thereof of a similar station at or near Brawley, Calif.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H. R. 1799) for the relief of Eva L. Dudley, Grace M. Collins, and Guy B. Slater, and it was signed by the President pro tempore.

REPORT ON SETTLEMENT OF CLAIMS OF CERTAIN CONTRACTORS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Secretary of Agriculture, reporting, pursuant to Public Law 657, Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, on the settlement of claims filed in cases where work, supplies, or services have been furnished to the Government under contracts during the war by the Fresno Dehydrating Co., of Fresno, Calif., amounting to \$110,234.61, and the Visalia Dehydrating Co., of Visalia, Calif., amounting to \$132,956.82, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL CEMETERY ON GUAM

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a resolution adopted by the 1948 session of the Guam Congress, favoring the establishment of a national cemetery on Guam, which, with the accompanying resolution, was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

PETITION

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution, Philadelphia, Pa., favoring the enactment of legislation providing

universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

NATIONAL HOUSING

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will state the parliamentary situation. Senate bill 866, the so-called national housing bill, is the unfinished business, and the immediate question before the Senate is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] to strike out title VI, relating to low-rent housing, as amended, in the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], as amended.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia obtained the floor.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. President, I yield for statements by Senators and the transaction of routine business.

SITUATION IN POLAND

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, on April 2, 1948, at the Polish National Home in Paterson, N. J., a mass meeting was held in honor of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, former president of the Polish Peasant Party, and certain resolutions were adopted having to do with the present distressing situation in Poland, and expressing the sympathetic interest of our Polish-American citizens. I ask unanimous consent to present the resolutions for appropriate reference and request that they be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were received, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We, the League of Polish Societies of the City of Paterson and the Paterson Chapter of the Polish-American Congress of New Jersey, urge the following resolution:

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that the people of Poland and the true Republic of Poland have become and are enslaved, engulfed, ensnared, and enveloped within the clutches of the greatest threat to world peace, the cancerous scourge of communism and its influences emanating from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that the people of Poland and the true Republic of Poland are no longer a free, independent, and democratic nation; and

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that the people of Poland have suffered, sustained, and endured unjust miseries, tortures, starvation, oppression, and indignation, and that they have had their boundaries decimated and their religion desecrated; and

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that the country of Poland is the most martyred nation of Europe; and

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that millions of the people of Poland have become displaced persons, and have no home, no homeland, and very little hope of ever obtaining and sharing in the God-given right of freedom; and

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that the people of Poland and the true Republic of Poland are extending their hands of brotherhood to the people of the United States of America, and with fervent prayers upon their lips, and pleading tears of agony upon their faces, they are hoping and praying that we, the people of the United States of America, shall free them from the bondage of communism that shackles them within the iron curtain of communistic Russia; and

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that the guaranties as set forth in the Atlantic Charter, and in particular, 'the rights of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live,' have been broken and violated; and

"Whereas we hold these truths to be self-evident that all God-fearing and God-loving people of the United States of America, including the more than 6,000,000 people of Polish ancestry, true and loyal American citizens, are deeply grieved over the tragic plight of the people of Poland: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved—

"1. We strongly urge the United States of America to maintain a firm stand in the present international crisis to prevent the further spread of communism which is the greatest threat to world peace;

"2. We strongly urge that the United States of America extend its every possible aid to the beleaguered people of Poland and to all other subjugated nations;

"3. We strongly urge the restoration of all guaranties as set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

"4. We condemn the loss of Poland's freedom and independence;

"5. We condemn the emasculation of her boundaries and her territorial rights;

"6. We condemn the quartering of Russian troops upon Polish soil

"7. We condemn the destruction and loss of free elections in the true democratic Republic of Poland;

"8. We urge that the solemn pledges made to Poland that she shall be a free and independent nation be fulfilled and sustained;

"9. We urge the immediate enactment of a bill which would admit displaced persons from Europe into the United States of America;

"10. We urge the enactment of a bill which would lower the postage rates upon all relief packages sent to countries in need of assistance, and that Poland be included among these countries;

"11. To the real Republic of Poland, the most martyred nation of all, we send our compassion and love. In silent prayer we bow our heads before Almighty God invoking His strength for her sustenance and fortitude in her hour of trial;

"12. To those representatives of our Government, to those members of the press and the radio, and to all champions of freedom, who are espousing the cause of right instead of might, we extend our deepest gratitude;

"It is these declarations that we make most sincerely, as fervent American citizens, having a filial love for Poland, and ever maintaining our love and loyalty to the United States of America, being aware of our own liberal heritage and believing most strongly in our American way of life, we hope and pray that the sacrifices that we have made shall not be in vain, that the people of Poland and of all other subjugated nations shall enjoy freedom, and a just and Godly peace for the spiritual progress and welfare of all the world; and be it further

Resolved, That appropriate copies of this resolution be endorsed and mailed to President Harry S. Truman, Senators H. Alexander Smith and Albert Hawkes, Congressman Gordon Canfield, and to the press of this community."

Done at Paterson, N. J., this 2d day of April 1948.

THE LEAGUE OF POLISH SOCIETIES OF THE CITY OF PATERSON AND THE PATERSON CHAPTER OF THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS OF NEW JERSEY,

By ANTHONY R. SIERAKAWSKI, *President*,
CARROLL J. STARK,
Chairman, Resolution Committee.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF FREEDOM OF CUBA

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, the Combined Veterans' Committee of Ger-

mantown, Pa., recently adopted a very suitable resolution relative to the fiftieth anniversary of the freedom of Cuba. I ask unanimous consent to present the resolution for appropriate reference and printing in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was received, ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

In regular meeting assembled the following resolution was properly proposed, seconded, and unanimously adopted by the Combined Veterans' Committee of Germantown, at Philadelphia, Pa., April 14, 1948:

"Whereas every citizen of the United States of America has the right and the duty to share in the maintenance and defense of his country and its institutions; and

"Whereas readiness for defense is sound proof of fidelity; and

"Whereas the veterans to whom this is addressed have long been acclaimed for their trustworthy American principles; and

"Whereas they sounded the original call forming this committee for the combined observance of Memorial Day; and

"Whereas it is founded in history that nations die out from the loss of their cherished customs: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That in this, its twenty-fifth year of remembrance of the honored war dead, the Combined Veterans' Committee of Germantown congratulates and commends for valiant service to their country; and for leadership and faithfulness on this committee, our comrades of Egbert Camp, United Spanish War Veterans, on the occasion of the celebration of their fiftieth anniversary, April 21, 1948; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be communicated to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress; to the Governor of the Commonwealth; to the city council and to the mayor of the city of Philadelphia."

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. BUTLER, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

S. 1062. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Christine West and Mrs. Jesse West; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1152).

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. BUSHFIELD:

S. 2534. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to issue to Willis Mountain a patent in fee to certain land; and

S. 2535. A bill to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to issue to Ione Brandon Jensen a patent in fee to certain land; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. DWORSHAK:

S. 2536. A bill authorizing the establishment and operation of a memorial museum and shop at Spalding, Idaho; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. LUCAS:

S. 2537. A bill for the relief of Donald Olive Jack; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOWNEY:

S. 2538. A bill for the relief of Maria Geertrude Mulders; and

S. 2539. A bill for the relief of James A. Stapleton, Ruth Burk, and Mildred Ovren, copartners, doing business under the name and style of Stapleton Lumber & Piling Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LANGER:

S. 2540. A bill for the relief of Victor Franz Pullwitt; and

S. 2541. A bill for the relief of Karl Ludwig Przibislavsky; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

NATIONAL HOUSING—AMENDMENTS

Mr. MCCARTHY (for himself, Mr. ROBERTSON of Wyoming, and Mr. SPARKMAN) submitted amendments intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 866) to establish a national housing objective and the policy to be followed in the attainment thereof, to facilitate sustained progress in the attainment of such objective, and to provide for the coordinated execution of such policy through a National Housing Commission, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

EXTENSION OF BENEFITS OF CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT ACT TO ALASKA RAILROAD EMPLOYEES—AMENDMENT

Mr. WILLIAMS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 2326) to repeal the Alaska Railroad Retirement Act of June 29, 1936, as amended, and to extend the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, to officers and employees to whom such act of June 29, 1936, is applicable, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

INCREASE IN RATE OF COMPENSATION OF HEADS AND ASSISTANT HEADS OF EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. BALDWIN (for himself and Mr. FERGUSON) submitted amendments intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 1537) to increase the rate of compensation of heads and assistant heads of executive departments, and for other purposes, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

AMENDMENTS OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT—AMENDMENTS

Mr. GREEN submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1194) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act with respect to the liability of common carriers by motor vehicle, common carriers by water, and freight forwarders for payment of damages to persons injured by them through violations of such act, which were referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. GREEN submitted amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 2759) to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, so as to provide limitations on the time within which actions may be brought for the recovery of undercharges and overcharges by or against common carriers by motor vehicle, common carriers by water, and freight forwarders, which

were referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and ordered to be printed.

CLAIMS OF JAPANESE AND JAPANESE-AMERICANS FOR PROPERTY LOSSES

[Mr. SMITH asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Evacuation Claims—Justice Delayed," by Mike Masaoka, from the February issue of the Christian Register, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE NEW PALESTINE PROPOSAL—EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

[Mr. IVES asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The New Palestine Proposal," from the New York Times of April 21, 1948, which appears in the Appendix.]

COMPILATION OF PENNSYLVANIA VETERANS LAWS

[Mr. MARTIN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a compilation of Pennsylvania veterans laws prepared by Harry C. Martin, department adjutant of the Disabled American Veterans, of Harrisburg, Pa., which appears in the Appendix.]

MEETINGS OF COMMITTEES DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. REED. Mr. President, the subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce is holding a hearing on the liquor advertising bill. There are about 200 people in the caucus room of the Senate Office Building, many of them from places outside Washington. I ask unanimous consent that the subcommittee be permitted to continue its session this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary considering Senate bill 156 be permitted to sit this afternoon during the session of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

GERMAN ART TREASURES

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, recently there has been discussion in the newspapers in relation to the German art treasures which have been on exhibit in Washington. It has been estimated that perhaps three or four hundred thousand people have seen these fine paintings.

The question has arisen as to whether or not the exhibit should go on tour in this country, to be shown at various places. General Clay has spoken decidedly on the subject, to the effect that it would be to the advantage of the United States to keep faith with the German Nation and return the paintings.

In this connection, I wish to have printed following my remarks a statement on the German art treasures which has been prepared, and which presents the issue clearly to the people.

I also ask that following the statement there be printed an article by Aline B. Loucheim from the New York Times.

There being no objection, the statement and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON GERMAN ART TREASURES

The proposal has been made that the exhibition of German-owned art, now on view at the National Gallery, should be kept in

America until there is a recognized and functioning German government which could assume responsibility for the pictures and until the danger of Russian seizure is past. It is further proposed that the pictures be sent on tour through the country and the admission fees be given to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund.

I wish to comment on this proposal. I do not believe that a minor problem is involved. Upon the contrary, it presents us with a major problem in international morality and good will.

In the first place, the proposal is at variance with a long-standing policy of our Government. When, long ago, the Chinese Government was forced to pay an indemnity to the United States and to European nations for damages suffered during the Boxer Rebellion, we did not keep the money. Instead, we used the money to set up a scholarship fund for Chinese students studying in this country. Good will was never bought at a cheaper price. The Chinese were convinced that we were acting on the level, in a spirit of decency and fair play; and, since the rebellion was over and done with, no hard feelings were held. On the contrary, the good will in our act wiped the slate clean for a fresh start and we have ever since had the respect and reciprocal good will of the Chinese people. Incidents of this character have happened again and again in our history and we have always chosen the wise and honorable solution.

In the second place, we know too well from history what grudges and hard feelings have arisen from seizing art treasures as war booty. Such treasures have been war booty from the beginning of time and have been a source of acrimonious dispute. The museums of Europe are littered with paintings that the powers stole from one another during their endless wars. Bonaparte took the bronze horses from St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice and one of the first things done after the peace that followed Waterloo was to restore those memorials. One of the handiest clubs used to beat Bonaparte was to accuse him of being a common thief.

The Nazis were even more systematic thieves than Bonaparte and the whole continent was ransacked to get sculptures and paintings for the private collections of Hitler and Goering. Public opinion condemned this conduct in no uncertain terms. Why should we, even temporarily, keep these pictures and fall, even for a moment, under the shadow of suspicion?

In the third place, the administration never stopped talking during the late war about how we asked for nothing, not one penny. We said our aim was to destroy the forces of despotism and give humanity a chance. As the President and Mr. Churchill put it in their Atlantic Charter: "Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other." I submit that the words "or other" fully cover works of art.

I know perfectly well that the proposal doesn't mean that we keep the pictures permanently. I know perfectly well the proposal rests on a well-meaning belief that these art treasures should be kept safe for all humanity. I know the proposed tour of these pictures is for a worthy cause.

But how many Germans know it? General Clay publicly promised the German people that the paintings would be back in Germany by April. If we are committed by promise, then it is doubly essential that those pictures get back on time.

These pictures are a symbol of returning peace to the German people. They represent a start on the reconstruction of their country. It is not farfetched to say that the return of these pictures is as much a hope for a firm, peaceful future of the German people as is the economic rehabilitation of their devastated lands. Let us provide a wholesome contrast in international morality. While the Russians are removing all

kinds of property from their zone in Germany, let us set an example by restoring to Germany the property which is an inspiration and source of pride to the German people. The return of these pictures would have a wider, settling effect on all Europe which is as much in need of spiritual sustenance as it is in need of bread.

The time to be magnanimous, the time to show our true character is when our victory and our strength enable us to bear down hard on others. We have possession of these art treasures. We have the strength to keep them as long as we wish. We can always find good and plausible reasons for keeping them. To do so on the grounds of protecting the pictures is a thin excuse in the light of present and future conditions. The German problem is not going to resolve itself into complete security for many years. On that account we could keep these pictures indefinitely.

But I submit that the measure of our national character is how we treat the vanquished when their fortune is in our hands. The good will we now show as victors will be all the greater because it is voluntary and not forced. And the measure of good will we shall draw to ourselves from the other nations as well as from the German people will be equally great, perhaps when we need it most.

We have on our hands two problems: One is putting Germany, or that part of it we control, to rights for the good of Europe. The other is building up a buttress against Russia. If we get those pictures back on time, we add one more clincher to our argument to the Germans that we are sincere in our aim to rebuild a peaceful Europe. Like our refusal to keep the Boxer Rebellion money, this is an honorable way to get good will. And, of course, quite apart from expediency, there is the question of common honesty. Here, as in other matters of life, honesty is still the best policy. We should restore these pictures at once to the German people.

[From the New York Times]

CLAY URGES RETURN OF ART TO GERMANY—FULBRIGHT REPLIES AT HEARING PAINTINGS WOULD BE UNSAFE THERE—QUESTION UNSETTLED

(By Aline B. Loucheim)

WASHINGTON, April 16.—After a 3-hour discussion before a Senate Armed Services Subcommittee, the question of when and how the German-owned pictures, now on exhibition at the National Gallery here, would be returned to Germany was still unsettled.

There was indication, however, that the pictures, which have been viewed by 709,663 persons since the opening here March 17, would remain on exhibit at the National Gallery beyond the scheduled closing on April 18.

The hearings were held on the Fulbright resolution, which provides that these paintings be sent on a National Museum tour and that the proceeds from an admission fee be given to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund. It proposes that the paintings, which belong to the German people, be returned only when there is a diplomatically recognized government in Germany.

On the one hand, the Departments of Army and State argued strongly for the immediate return of the pictures. On the other, Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, and witnesses for the Metropolitan and other museums, a German Rhodes scholar, and William C. Bullitt, former American Ambassador to Moscow, spoke in favor of the Fulbright bill.

The argument of Under Secretary of the Army William H. Draper, Jr., and of Charles E. Saltzman, Assistant Secretary of State for Occupied Countries, was that Gen. Lucius D. Clay had given his word to the German people that the paintings would be returned in April and that any failure to keep his promise would impair the faith of the Germans in the

United States, "damage our prestige and position" and play into the hands of Communist propagandists.

General Clay was quoted as saying: "I do not know of anything that would convince the German people of our clear intent to hold our position in Europe more than would the return of these art objects."

Senator FULBRIGHT contended that conditions in Germany at this time did not guarantee the safety of these paintings, which we were pledged to hold in safekeeping.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon, chairman of the subcommittee, suggested that the civil German governments in the American zone be asked to decide themselves whether they wished to have the paintings returned or to send them on tour and gain American dollars for Germany.

The Metropolitan Museum has requested that the collection of 202 masterpieces be shown in New York before they are shipped back.

PROPOSED REVISION OF ARMED SERVICES UNIFICATION ACT

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, yesterday I made a speech in support of a complete revision of the military unification law and introduced a bill to accomplish that end.

I wish to say that I have been exceedingly gratified, the newspaper comments to the contrary notwithstanding, at the large number of Senators—I think the number exceeds 20—who have been kind enough to say to me that they agree with the major principles of my bill and agree that some such legislation needs to be passed.

I was not here when my very good friend, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee [Mr. GURNEY], made his brief comment in regard to my speech. I wish to pay a very deserved compliment to him for his leadership on the Armed Services Committee and at the same time respectfully dissent from any suggestion from him that we may have to wait for 20 years to take all the kinks out of the present unification law. I do not believe the taxpayers of this country should be expected to wait a single year to bring about a practical integration of our armed services. I am satisfied that such an integration as provided for in my bill will save the taxpayers many millions of dollars. Those millions of dollars will continue to be wasted if the present law remains on the books. The people of our country have the right to look to the Armed Services Committee of the Senate to recommend the modification of the National Security Act of 1947 in this session of Congress because it is perfectly clear that experience under the act of 1947 has already shown that necessary economies cannot be worked out through that act in its present form. The armed services must be taught that we in the Congress mean it when we ask for an integrated military program. Any talk about trying to work out the kinks in this bill over a long period of years is not acceptable when viewed from the best interests of our national security or our free economy.

ADVISORY COUNCIL ON SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, last fall the Senate Finance Committee appointed an advisory council to advise that committee on the subject of social

security. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point in my remarks the names of the members of the council and brief biographies of them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

The matter referred to is as follows:

The members of the advisory council are as follows:

Frank Bane, Chicago, Ill., executive director of the Council of State Governments. Mr. Bane was executive director of the Federal Social Security Board in the years 1935-38, and was previously director of public welfare for the States of Virginia and Tennessee and director of the American Public Welfare Association.

Dr. J. Douglas Brown, Princeton, N. J., dean of the faculty and director of the industrial relations section of the department of economics and social institutions, Princeton University. Dr. Brown was a member of an advisory council to the finance committee on social-security problems in the years 1937 and 1938. He has been a consulting economist to the Social Security Board since 1936 and chairman of the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security.

Malcolm H. Bryan, Atlanta, Ga., vice-chairman of the board of the Trust Co. of Georgia. Mr. Bryan was first vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, Ga., during the period 1941 to 1946 and was a member of the American technical staff at the Bretton Woods Conference. Previously, for many years Mr. Bryan was professor of economics at the University of Georgia.

Nelson H. Cruikshank, director, social insurance activities, American Federation of Labor.

Miss Mary H. Donlon, New York, chairman of the New York State Workmen's Compensation Board, previously chairman of the New York State Industrial Board.

Adrien J. Falk, San Francisco, Calif., president of S & W Fine Foods, Inc. Mr. Falk is president of the San Francisco Board of Education, chairman of the Citizens' Postwar Planning Committee of San Francisco, member of the advisory council of the California State Employment Stabilization Commission and prominent in California civic and industrial affairs.

Marion B. Folsom, Rochester, N. Y., treasurer of the Eastman Kodak Co. Mr. Folsom served on the President's Advisory Council on Economic Security in 1934-35 and the Finance Committee's Advisory Council on Social Security in 1937-38. During the years 1944-47 he was director of staff for the Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning of the House of Representatives.

M. Albert Linton, Moorestown, N. J., president of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co. A member of the Finance Committee's Advisory Council on Social Security in 1937-38, Mr. Linton is a fellow of the American Institute of Actuaries and the Institute of Actuaries, London, and a former president of the Actuarial Society of America.

John Miller, Washington, D. C., assistant director of the National Planning Association, a private organization devoted to research in the fields of agriculture, business, and public administration.

Dr. William I. Myers, Ithaca, N. Y., dean of New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University. Former Governor of the Farm Credit Administration and President of the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation, Dr. Myers' record of public service includes present membership on the President's Committee on Foreign Aid.

Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers' Union and vice president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Dr. Florence Sabin, Denver, Colo., scientist, for many years a member of the faculty of

Johns Hopkins University, afterward a member and now member emeritus of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, past president of the American Society of Anatomists, author, and most recently chairman of the subcommittee on health of Colorado's postwar planning committee, a recipient of numerous awards for her achievements in the field of anatomical research.

Dr. Sumner H. Slichter, Cambridge, Mass., Lamont professor at Harvard University, formerly professor of business economics at Harvard, and previously on the faculties of Cornell and Princeton Universities. Dr. Slichter is Chairman of the Research Advisory Board of the Committee for Economic Development.

S. Abbot Smith, Weston, Mass., president of the Thomas Strahan Co.; president and director, Smaller Business of New England. Mr. Smith was a director of the Smaller War Plants Corporation during the war. He is a trustee of the Committee for Economic Development and a member of its subcommittee on the special problems of smaller business.

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Charlottesville, Va., rector of the University of Virginia, former Secretary of State of the United States, Chairman of the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations on International Security and of the American delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco. Mr. Stettinius served on the Advisory Committee to the Council for National Defense, as Chairman of the Priorities Board, Lend-Lease Administrator, and in a number of other posts of high responsibility prior to his appointment as Secretary of State.

Delos Walker, New York, vice president of R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., trustee of the Institute of Public Administration, vice president and member of the board of the Regional Plan Association of New York, and formerly chairman of the board of the American Retail Federation.

Dr. Ernest Young, dean of the Graduate School of Purdue University, a former president of the American Farm Economic Association, now in Europe at an international agricultural conference.

Mr. Stettinius was designated chairman of the advisory council and Dr. Sumner H. Slichter as associate chairman.

Four members of the council, Mr. E. R. Stettinius, Dr. J. Douglas Brown, Mr. Marion B. Folsom, and Mr. M. Albert Linton were members of a previous council to advise the Senate Committee on Finance in social security matters appointed in 1937 jointly by that committee and the Social Security Board. A number of the recommendations of the 1937 council were adopted in the last major revision of the Social Security Act in 1939.

FIRST REPORT OF ADVISORY COUNCIL ON SOCIAL SECURITY

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, the Senate Finance Committee has now received the first report of the Advisory Council on Social Security embracing the matter of coverage. The report will be released today and will be available to Senators who may be interested.

Dr. Sumner H. Slichter, cochairman of the council, has prepared a question and answer explanation of the report. I ask unanimous consent that this may be inserted in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

The Senate Finance Committee has heard an explanation of the report but has not as yet taken action on it. In this connection I may say that the initiative in the matter is in the House of Representatives and we cannot act until we receive a bill from the House.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the request of the Senator from Colorado is granted.

The matter referred to is as follows:

QUESTIONS ON THE REPORT OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON SOCIAL SECURITY ON OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE

1. What are the principal changes which the council has recommended in old-age and survivors insurance?

The council has made 22 recommendations for changes in old-age and survivors insurance. These recommendations fall in the main under four principal heads:

(1) Extending coverage—at present only three out of every five jobs are covered.

(2) Liberalizing eligibility requirements for older workers—at present only about 20 percent of those age 65 or over are either insured or receiving benefits.

(3) Liberalizing the benefits. At the end of 1947 retirement benefits averaged \$25 a month for a single retired man, and \$39 a month for a retired man and wife.

(4) Financing—what will be the cost of the proposals and what contribution rate should be charged?

2. Has the council agreed unanimously on its recommendations?

The council was unanimous on 20 of its 22 specific recommendations. Two members dissented from the recommendation that the coverage of traditionally tax-exempt institutions be compulsory. Several members believe that the present tax base and contribution base of \$3,000 should be retained. Several others, while joining in the recommendation that the base be raised to \$4,200, believe that this does not go far enough and that the increase should be to \$4,800 instead of \$4,200. Except on these two points the recommendations of the council are unanimous.

3. What changes does the council recommend in the benefit formula?

The council recommends that the primary benefit shall be 50 percent of the first \$75 of the average monthly wage plus 15 percent of the remainder up to the maximum average monthly wage (\$350 a month) that can be counted toward benefits.

The present benefit formula provides for a benefit amount equal to 40 percent of the first \$50 of the average monthly wage, plus 10 percent of the remainder up to the maximum average monthly wage (\$250 a month). One percent of this sum is added for each year in which the worker received \$200 or more in wages in covered employment.

4. Has the council recommended any changes in the method of computing the average monthly wage on which the benefits are based?

To reduce the handicap of persons who would be newly covered under the council's recommendations, the council has proposed that for anyone who has six or more quarters of coverage after 1948, his average monthly wage may be based on either his wages and the time elapsing after 1936 or his wages and the time elapsing after 1948, whichever is more advantageous.

5. How much will the council's recommendations increase the average benefit?

Under the Council's recommendations the average benefit payments would more than double within a few years. Under the proposals, the average benefit for single retired men would rise from about \$25 a month to about \$55; the average for a man and wife would rise from about \$39 to about \$85 a month, and the average for a widow and two children from about \$48 to about \$110 a month.

6. Would the new benefit formula apply to persons who are now drawing benefits?

Yes. Present benefits would be computed according to the new formula for all months after the effective date of the amendments to the Social Security Act.

7. Why does the advisory council recommend dropping the present rule by which

benefits are increased 1 percent for each year in which the wage earner receives \$200 or more in wages in covered employments?

The benefit formula of the present program with the automatic increase of 1 percent for each year of coverage in effect postpones payment of the full rate of benefits for more than 40 years from the time the system began to operate. The council believes that adequate benefits should be paid immediately to retired beneficiaries and survivors of insured workers, but considers it unwise to commit the system to automatic increases in the benefit for each year of covered employment. By dropping the increment the council feels that it can recommend higher benefits now.

8. Has the council recommended increased protection for the survivors of insured employees who die?

Yes. The council recommends that survivors' benefits for children be paid at the rate of three-fourths of the primary insurance benefit for one child and one-half for each additional child within the limits permitted by the maximum provisions. The present act provides for children's benefits of one-half of the primary benefit in all cases. The council also recommends that the parents' benefits be increased from the present rate of one-half to three-fourths of the primary insurance benefit.

Under the present provisions the children in a family in which the mother as well as the father works receive benefits only on the death or retirement of the father. Because a working mother as well as the father is contributing to the income of the family, the council believes that a child's benefit should be payable when a mother who is currently insured dies or retires. A child, however, could not receive benefits on both its father's and its mother's wage record. A child would receive only the larger of the two benefits.

In addition, the council recommends payment of benefits to the aged, dependent husbands and widowers of women who were currently and fully insured when they retired or died.

9. Does the benefit formula proposed by the council favor low-wage earners?

Yes. A worker with an average monthly wage of \$50 would receive a primary benefit of \$25; a worker with an average monthly wage of \$100, a primary benefit of \$41.25; a worker with an average monthly wage of \$200, a primary benefit of \$56.25; a worker with an average monthly wage of \$300, a primary benefit of \$71.25. Thus, the worker with a \$50 average wage receives in benefits half of his average wage, while the worker with a \$300 average monthly wage receives in benefits less than one-fourth of his average wage.

10. Does the council make any other proposals for increasing benefits?

Yes. The council recommends that the present minimum primary benefit be raised from \$10 to \$20. It also recommends that the maximum benefits payable on one wage record should be three times the primary insurance benefit or 80 percent of the individual's average monthly wage, whichever is less, except that this limitation shall not reduce the total family benefit below \$40.

The present law limits the total of all monthly benefits payable on the wage record of an individual to \$85, twice the amount of the primary benefit, or 80 percent of the wage earner's average monthly wage, whichever amount is least. However, these last two provisions cannot reduce the total family benefit below \$20 a month. The effect of the council's recommendations may be seen by an example. Under the present law, the family of a worker with an average monthly wage of \$200 and 10 years of coverage can receive total benefits of \$77, which is twice the primary benefit of \$38.50. This limit applies because this amount is less than \$85 or 80 percent of his average monthly

wage. Under the council's proposal, maximum benefits payable to the family would be \$160. This is 80 percent of the worker's average monthly wage, and is less than three times \$56.25, which would be \$168.75.

11. Do the recommendations of the council take into account the fact that wage levels and the cost of living have risen greatly since the last general review of the old-age and survivors' insurance program?

Yes. The liberalization of the formula recognizes this fact. In addition the council recommends that the wage base both for benefits and contributions be raised from \$3,000 to \$4,200 a year.

12. Since the cost of living has risen at least 60 percent since the \$3,000 wage base for contributions and the computation of benefits was established and since wages have risen even more, why does the council recommend only an increase of 40 percent in the base for computing contributions and benefits?

The council took notice of the fact that after the rapid rise in prices during the First World War there was a subsequent fall. Consequently, many members of the council believe that it would be desirable to advance the base for computing contributions and benefits by less than the rise in prices and wages. If prices and wages continue to rise, the advisability of advancing the wage base still more can be explored.

13. What conditions of eligibility for benefits does the council recommend?

The council recommends that requirements for fully insured status should be one-quarter of coverage for every two calendar quarters elapsing after 1948 or after the quarter in which the individual attains the age of 21, whichever is later, and before the quarter in which he attains the age of 65 (60 in the case of women) or dies. A minimum of six quarters of coverage would be required and workers would be fully and permanently insured with 40 quarters of coverage.

14. Does the council recommend any reduction in the age of eligibility for old-age benefits?

Yes. The council recommends that the minimum age at which women may qualify for old-age benefits should be reduced from 65 to 60 years.

15. Do the council recommendations with respect to newly covered workers treat these workers as liberally as did the original Social Security Act in 1936?

Yes. The council recommends a new start in the eligibility requirements which will require the same qualifying period for an older worker now as was required for a person who was the same age when the system began operation. For example, all workers who will have attained age 62 before the middle of 1949 would be insured according to the council's recommendations with a minimum of six quarters of coverage, just as workers of the same age in 1937 could be insured with the same amount of coverage.

16. Will the council's recommendations help older people meet the eligibility requirements for benefits?

Yes. Several of the council's recommendations would help older people to qualify for benefits. Of particular importance is the recommendation for a new start which reduces the number of quarters of coverage (a quarter of coverage is a calendar quarter in which a worker is paid \$50 in covered wages) required of older workers. The council's recommendation allows an individual to count all quarters of coverage earned at any time after 1936 toward fulfilling the requirement. The extensions of coverage which the council recommends will make it easier for all workers to meet the requirement of one quarter of coverage for each two calendar quarters elapsing after 1948 because practically all

work will count toward meeting the requirement.

17. What recommendations for extending coverage does the council make?

The council believes that the time has come to give old-age and survivors' insurance protection to virtually all gainfully employed persons. The council recommends extension of coverage immediately to the self-employed, who include about 6,000,000 business and professional people and 5,000,000 farmers; to about 3,500,000 agricultural workers; to about 2,500,000 household workers; to about 1,000,000 employees of nonprofit institutions; to about 1,400,000 members of the armed services; and by means of voluntary agreements between the States and the Federal Government, to about 4,000,000 employees of State and local governments.

In addition, the council recommends immediate extension of coverage to Federal employees (other than foreign nationals) not now covered by the civil-service retirement system. For the other 1,500,000 Federal employees and the 1,700,000 railroad workers it is recommended that coverage be extended after joint studies have been made by the Social Security Administration and the other two agencies concerned on the best way of revising the Civil Service Retirement Act and the Railroad Retirement Act to make them supplementary to the basic old-age and survivors' insurance.

18. Does the council recommend that any persons be excluded from coverage?

Yes. The council does not recommend extension of coverage to clergymen and members of religious orders.

19. What would be the total effect of the council's recommendations concerning coverage?

The council's recommendations would increase the number of persons covered at any one time from about 35,000,000 to about 59,000,000.

20. Does the council recommend that coverage be compulsory?

Yes; except in the case of employees of State and local governments. It is probably unconstitutional for the Federal Government to impose a tax on these governmental units, and therefore the council recommends that coverage should be extended to these employees through voluntary agreements between the States and the Federal Government.

21. In view of the fact that the Federal Government already has a civil-service retirement system, why does the advisory council recommend extension of old-age and survivors' insurance to Federal employees?

The present civil-service retirement system fails to cover about 500,000 persons who are now working for the Government (including some foreign nationals for whom the council does not recommend coverage). These 500,000 represent nearly one-fourth of the total employees. Furthermore the present civil-service retirement system does not give retirement or survivorship protection to Federal employees with less than 5 years of service. About 40 percent of all persons entering Federal service remain less than 5 years. If Federal employment were covered, persons who move between Federal and private employment would have continuous protection.

22. In view of the fact that the Railroad Retirement Act provides retirement and survivorship protection for railroad workers, why does the council recommend extension of the old-age and survivors' insurance to railroad employees?

There is a large movement in and out of railroad employment. For example, although railroad employment in 1946 averaged nearly 1,700,000, about 3,100,000 individuals had some railroad earnings during the year. Extension of old-age and survivors' insurance to railroad employees would prevent anomalies and losses in protection that now may result from these shifts in employment. During the early years of the old-age and survivors

insurance program some persons who work for only a few years in railroad employment would have less in combined protection under the railroad retirement plan and the old-age and survivors' insurance than they would have had if they had been covered continuously by old-age and survivors' insurance.

23. In recommending that Federal civil service and railroad workers be covered by old-age and survivors' insurance, does the council contemplate that the present civil-service retirement plan and the railroad retirement plan would be duplicated?

No; the council believes that old-age and survivors' insurance should give basic protection and that the civil-service retirement plan and the railroad retirement plan should give supplementary protection. The combined protection would be no less than workers receive under the civil-service retirement plan or the railroad retirement plan.

24. Is it practicable to combine old-age and survivors' insurance with the civil-service retirement plan, for Federal civil-service employees, and with the railroad retirement plan for railroad employees, as the council suggests?

The council believes that it is practicable. However, there are many technical problems which will have to be carefully worked out. Consequently, the council has recommended that the responsibility for recommending adjustments in the benefits and contributions of these special plans to make them supplementary to the basic protection afforded by old-age and survivors' insurance should be delegated to the Civil Service Commission and the Railroad Retirement Board in collaboration with the Social Security Administration. The council recommends that these agencies be asked to work out the practical details and to make recommendations to the Congress.

25. If State and local governments are permitted to elect old-age and survivors' insurance coverage for their employees, will not the Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance Trust Fund be subject to an excessive drain?

It is true that any plan for voluntary coverage may involve a drain on the fund. This is so because under a voluntary plan only those groups are likely to elect coverage who have an opportunity to obtain exceptionally large benefits in return for their contribution. However, because of constitutional factors the only way in which coverage can be extended to State and local employees is through a voluntary plan. The council, therefore, recommends that, in this area of employment alone, coverage be extended on a voluntary basis and that special provisions be adopted to protect the trust fund.

For example, the council recommends that coverage of State and local employees be permitted only when elected for all employees within an occupational or departmental group. As further assurance that the coverage groups will contain a reasonably representative distribution of risks, coverage would be permitted only if one-fourth of the employees of each State or local Governmental unit were brought into the program. In the case of small local Government units of 100 or fewer employees, all would have to be covered.

26. How much will the old-age and survivors' insurance program recommended by the council cost?

On the assumption that wages in the future are at the level of 1944-46, the program will cost from 4.9 to 7.3 percent of pay roll on a level premium basis. (The level premium rate is the rate which would support the system indefinitely if collected from the first year.) If wages increase, as may be expected with some confidence, the costs as a percentage of pay roll will be lower. Annual costs are much lower in the early years than at the time costs become relatively stable (about 2000). The costs for the year 1955, assuming the 1944-46 wage level, will be from 2.4 to 3.1 percent, but the cost for the year 2000

might be from 5.9 to 9.7 percent. The cost estimates have a wide range because of many uncertainties in long-range cost estimates.

27. Why is there uncertainty concerning the ultimate cost of the old-age and survivors' insurance plan?

There are several items of cost which cannot be predicted with precision. For this reason the actuaries have made two sets of estimates—a set of low-cost estimates and a set of high-cost estimates.

The low-cost estimates assume a continuation of mortality at present levels. The high-cost estimates assume that mortality will decrease in the future—in other words, that people will live long enough to draw benefits for a larger number of years than at present.

Estimates of future cost must be based upon some assumption concerning the general level of employment. Naturally, the amount of employment in the community cannot be predicted with precision.

Estimates of cost also depend upon the level of wages. Experience shows that money wages rise over the long run. For example, in the hundred years from 1840 to 1940 there was, roughly, an eightfold increase in hourly earnings of workers outside of agriculture. No one knows what the rate of increase in the future will be.

Finally, there is considerable uncertainty concerning future retirement rates. There has been a tendency for the proportion of older workers engaged in gainful employments to decline.

In 1900, about 68 percent of male whites of 65 years or more were members of the labor force and engaged more or less steadily in employment; in 1940 this proportion had dropped to about 40 percent. The census has estimated that by 1960 only about 27 percent of male whites of 65 years or more will be members of the labor force. No one knows whether this estimate will prove to be too high or too low. The low-cost estimates assume that under a mature program about 45 percent of the eligible men aged 65-69 would get benefits, while for women aged 60-69 about 70 percent of those eligible would get benefits. (Eligible persons beyond age 70 would receive benefits regardless of work.) For the high-cost estimates it is assumed that about 60 percent of the men aged 65-69 and 80 percent of the women aged 60-69 will receive benefits.

28. Does the council recommend an increase in the rates of contribution?

Yes, the council recommends that the contribution schedule be increased from the present rate of 1 percent for employers and 1 percent for employees to 1½ percent for employers and 1½ percent for employees at the same time that benefits are liberalized.

29. Are not the old-age benefits proposed by the council quite inadequate? For example, under the council's proposals, a worker with an average monthly wage of \$200 and a dependent wife would draw benefits of only \$74.38, or 37.2 percent of his wage and a worker with a monthly wage of \$350 and a dependent wife would draw benefits of only \$118.12, or 33.7 percent of the monthly wage.

The council recognizes that the benefits which it proposes will need in many cases to be supplemented by individual savings and private pension plans. It believes that social insurance should provide basic protection but that it would not relieve individuals of responsibility for providing against old age and death.

30. Why does the council recommend that the rate of contribution shall be raised from 1 percent to 1½ percent for both employers and employees?

The present 1-percent rate has remained unchanged for more than 10 years. The longer it remains unchanged, the greater is the danger that the public will fail to appreciate that in the long run there must

be a close relationship between contributions and benefits. Consequently, the council believes that at the time benefits are increased and eligibility requirements are liberalized, the rate of contribution should be increased. Even with the increase in contributions which the council proposes the contributors would be paying but a fraction of the actuarial value of the benefits to which they are entitled.

31. If the benefits proposed by the advisory council will cost from 4.9 percent to 7.3 percent of pay rolls, why does the council recommend that the rate of contribution be increased only to a combined rate on employers and employees of only 3 percent?

Contributions of 3 percent of pay roll will probably be sufficient to meet the annual cost of old-age and survivors insurance for the next decade. Charging the full level premium cost of old-age and survivors insurance immediately would have the effect of building up a large reserve which would not be needed to meet costs in the near future and which would create some special problems.

32. Will the rate of contribution recommended by the council build up a huge reserve fund?

If the recommendations of the council are adopted, the old-age and survivors' insurance plan will continue to build up a surplus for a few years. It is not the purpose of the council's recommendations, however, to build up a large trust fund. The fact that the trust fund will continue to increase for a few years is merely an incidental result of the rates of benefit proposed and the immediate changes in the rate of contribution proposed. The increase in the trust fund will be moderate in amount and, in the view of the council, will not confront the Government with fiscal problems which will prove difficult to handle. The general view of the council is that the excess of income over outgo should be kept as low as is possible without impairment of public understanding that in the long run there must be a close relationship between benefits and contributions.

33. When will the recommendations of the council require another increase in the rate of contribution?

The precise answer to this question is impossible. The best estimate which the council has been able to obtain indicates that in about 8 to 10 years after the adoption of the council's recommendations it might be necessary to increase the contribution rates of employers and employees to 2 percent of pay roll in order to cover the disbursements at that time.

34. Does the advisory council recommend that the Government contribute to the cost of old-age and survivors' insurance?

Yes; the council believes that ultimately the Government should make a contribution and that the cost should fall in equal parts upon employees, employers, and the Government. The council does not believe that the contribution of the Government should begin until the contributions of employers and employees have each risen to 2 percent of pay roll and that this amount is no longer sufficient to meet the current costs of old-age and survivors' insurance.

35. Why does the council believe the Government ultimately should contribute part of the cost of old-age and survivors' insurance?

The council proposes that the full rate of benefits be paid to those who retire during the first two or three decades of operation. It would be unfair, however, to ask either the employers or the employees to finance the entire cost of the accrued liabilities represented by the policy of paying full-rate benefits at an early date. It is reasonable that such liabilities shall be borne by the community, at least in large part. It is particularly appropriate that the Government should be one of the contributors to the cost of social insurance since partly replacing

public assistance with social insurance will give some relief to the general taxpayers who now have to finance the cost of public assistance.

36. During the last 8 years the rise in the price level has greatly diminished the purchasing power of old-age and survivors' benefits and thus has diminished the real protection afforded by the social security system. Is the council aware of the possibility that prices may continue to rise and that the protection given by old-age and survivors' insurance will continue to be diminished by rising prices?

The council has pointed out that if the protection afforded by the social security system is to be real, the purchasing power of benefits must not be destroyed by large increases in the price level, and that if the country is unable to prevent steep increases in price levels, benefits will have to be readjusted to preserve their purchasing power. The advisory council believes that a special obligation rests on the Government and all groups in the community to make sure that monetary policies, price policies, and wage policies do not produce a large rise in prices. It is obvious that there must be a relationship in the long run between the rate at which output per man-hour rises, the rate at which wages rise, and the rate at which prices rise. If wages rise faster than output per man-hour, the difference will have to be made up by a rise in prices. For example, if output per man-hour rises about 3 percent a year and wages rise about 5 percent a year, one may expect prices to rise by about 2 percent a year. This seems like a small amount. Nevertheless, in the course of 10 years it would reduce the purchasing power of benefits by about 25 percent and in the course of 40 years it would reduce the purchasing power of benefits by more than one-half. The council ventures no predictions on the future course of output, wages, or prices. It does believe, however, that the community should regard itself as having the responsibility for seeing that the purchasing power of benefits is not impaired by a large increase in the price level.

37. What was the basis for the difference of opinion in the council with respect to the extension of coverage to nonprofit institutions?

All members of the council agreed that extension of old-age and survivors' insurance to the employees of nonprofit institutions is desirable. Since the contributions to old-age and survivors' insurance are taxes, two members of the council fear that compulsory coverage of nonprofit institutions would be a precedent for placing other taxes on religious, charitable, and educational organizations. These members favor allowing such organizations to come under the plan at their option. The rest of the council does not share this fear. The majority point out that the proposed tax is a special-purpose tax and that it would apply to pay rolls wherever found—whether in a business enterprise or a nonprofit organization. It might be compared to a tax on gasoline which a church or other nonprofit organization pays when it buys gasoline. Such organizations also pay many other taxes, such as those on telephone and telegraph messages.

38. What were the different views among council members with respect to raising the present tax base and contribution base from \$3,000 to \$4,200?

Several objections were made by some of the members to raising the present contribution and benefit base from \$3,000 to \$4,200. One objection was that this change would call for changes in many of the some 6,800 private pension plans covering 10,000,000 employees, which are now integrated with the present base. A second objection was that persons with average wages over \$3,000 would receive larger increases in benefits than would those with average wages below \$3,000. A third objection was that in the early years

of the system the higher paid workers would not contribute enough in taxes to pay the cost of the increase in their benefits.

Other members of the council point out that since the tax base and benefit base of \$3,000 was established, the cost of living has risen by 60 percent and wages have risen even more than that. If the tax base and benefit base of \$3,000 was about right in 1936, a base of \$4,800 would be indicated today. Hence an increase to only \$4,200 is conservative. It is true that raising the benefit base to \$4,200 would give a larger percentage increase in benefits to persons earning more than \$3,000 than to persons earning less. The reason is the obvious one that under the present formula no wages above \$3,000 affect the size of the benefits. If one were to accept this reason for not raising the benefit base, the country would be committed to permanent retention of the \$3,000 limit no matter how high prices and wages might go. That would be an untenable position. As prices and wages rise, one must expect the benefit base and tax base to be changed to preserve the roughly original relation to the price level. This is one way of preventing a rise in the price level from undermining the purchasing power of benefits. As for contributions not equaling the value of benefits, that will be true in the early years of old-age and survivors' insurance for all classes of contributors. It is less true of persons with incomes above \$3,000 a year than of persons with lower incomes.

39. What is the Advisory Council on Social Security?

It is a body of 17 citizens from various walks of life appointed by the Committee on Finance of the United States Senate under authority of Senate Resolution 141 of July 23, 1947. The council has the duty of assisting the Senate committee in making an investigation of old-age and survivors' insurance and all other aspects of the existing social-security program. Its recommendations will be considered by the Senate in dealing with legislation relating to social security.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry of the able Senator from Colorado. I may say to him that I am particularly interested in the report which has been received. Quite recently I introduced a bill dealing with the subject of reducing the age for pensions from 65 years to 60 years, and providing for the payment of pensions to those who become unable to work through injury and disability. As I understand, the Senate Finance Committee is considering the subject. It is also now being considered by the House of Representatives. I understand the committee of the Senate is in a position to proceed upon the subject when the House acts.

Mr. MILLIKIN. We will be prepared to take up any bill which the House sends over to us, and we will have the benefit of the advice of the council to which I have referred.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Is the Senator in a position to advise the Senator from West Virginia as to what steps have been taken in the House, and what progress has been made on this important subject?

Mr. MILLIKIN. It is my understanding that the House Ways and Means Committee has a subcommittee now actively engaged in studying the subject of social security, having in mind the possibility of introducing legislation on the subject.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Is the Senator informed as to whether such legislation may be introduced at this session?

Mr. MILLIKIN. I am not in a position to say whether it will be, although I am in a position to say that the subcommittee is actively engaged in its study of the subject.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I thank the Senator.

HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS REFERRED

The following bills and joint resolutions were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H. R. 706. An act to record the lawful admission to the United States for permanent residence of Karl Frederick Kucker;

H. R. 838. An act for the relief of Frank J. Patzke, Archie Mitchell, J. L. Shoemaker, Elmer Engen, and N. L. Gifford;

H. R. 851. An act for the relief of Adney W. Gray;

H. R. 926. An act for the relief of Dora Greenbaum (Brenner);

H. R. 2064. An act for the relief of Michael Palazotta;

H. R. 2193. An act for the relief of Robert E. Graham;

H. R. 2732. An act for the relief of Dennis Stanton;

H. R. 2785. An act for the relief of the New Amsterdam Casualty Co.;

H. R. 2897. An act for the relief of the Marden Construction Co., Inc.;

H. R. 2918. An act for the relief of the Sumner County Colored Fair Association;

H. R. 3006. An act for the relief of Laura Spinnichia;

H. R. 3114. An act for the relief of the estate of John Deiman;

H. R. 3358. An act for the relief of Dr. Timothy C. H. Liang and Dr. Esther Chang Liang;

H. R. 3965. An act for the relief of John H. Schmitt and Mrs. Mildred Schmitt;

H. R. 4199. An act for the relief of George Haniotis;

H. R. 4381. An act for the relief of the Yellow Cab Transit Co., of Oklahoma City;

H. R. 4484. An act for the relief of Theodore Loetsch;

H. R. 5040. An act to amend the Contract Settlement Act of 1944, to provide that claims under section 17 must be filed within 6 months to be allowable, to stop further accrual of such claims, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5434. An act authorizing the Attorney General of the United States to recognize and to award to outstanding courageous young Americans a medal for heroism known as the Young American Medal for Bravery, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 6224. An act for the relief of John Watkins; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1562. An act to increase temporarily the amount of Federal aid to State or Territorial homes for the support of disabled soldiers and sailors of the United States;

H. R. 2359. An act to authorize the payment of a lump sum, in the amount of \$100,000, to the village of Highland Falls, N. Y., as a contribution toward the cost of construction of a water-filtration plant, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5870. An act to amend the act of May 16, 1946 (Public Law 383, 79th Cong.), as amended, to provide increased allowances for the escorts of repatriated war dead; and

H. R. 6039. An act to authorize the permanent appointment in the Regular Army of one officer in the grade of general and to authorize the permanent appointment in the Regular Air Force of one officer in the grade of general, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 2352. An act to provide for sale to the Crow Tribe of interests in the estates of deceased Crow Indian allottees;

H. R. 3633. An act to amend section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, designating certain public lands as available homelands;

H. R. 3635. An act to ratify sections 1 and 2 of Joint Resolution 7 enacted by the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii in its regular session of 1947;

H. R. 3680. An act to amend sections 207, 213, 215, 216, 220, 222, and 225, of title 2 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, as amended;

H. R. 3785. An act to authorize the State of Minnesota to condemn lands owned by the United States in the County of Cass, State of Minnesota, for fish propagation, and for other purposes;

H. R. 3954. An act to approve act No. 74 of the Session Laws of 1947 of the Territory of Hawaii, entitled "An act relating to revenue bonds of the Territory of Hawaii," and act No. 95 of the Session Laws of 1947 of the Territory of Hawaii, entitled "An act relating to Territorial and county public improvements and the financing thereof by the issuance of revenue bonds";

H. R. 4091. An act to ratify Act 237 of the Session Laws of Hawaii, 1947;

H. R. 4201. An act to authorize payments to the public-school district or districts serving the Fort Peck project, Montana, for the education of dependents of persons engaged on that project;

H. R. 4512. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain land to the State of Oklahoma for the use and benefit of the Northeastern State College at Tahlequah, Okla.;

H. R. 4551. An act to provide for the addition of certain surplus Government lands to the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area project, and for other purposes;

H. R. 4642. An act to provide for disposition and use of tribal funds of the Navajo Tribe of Indians;

H. R. 4966. An act directing the Secretary of the Interior to sell and lease certain houses, apartments, and lands in Boulder City, Nev.;

H. R. 5155. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to have made by the Public Roads Administration and the National Park Service a joint reconnaissance survey of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal between Great Falls, Md., and Cumberland, Md., and to report to the Congress upon the advisability and practicability of constructing thereon a parkway, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5173. An act to amend section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, designating certain public lands as available home lands;

H. R. 5175. An act to confirm and ratify Act 205 of the Session Laws of 1947 of the Territory of Hawaii, relating to the issuance of public-improvement bonds;

H. R. 5244. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to allow credit in connection with certain homestead entries for military or naval service rendered during World War II";

H. R. 5262. An act to authorize the sale of individual Indian lands acquired under the act of June 18, 1934, and under the act of June 26, 1936;

H. R. 5609. An act to authorize the survey of a proposed Mississippi River parkway for the purpose of determining the feasibility of such a national parkway, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5651. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in South Dakota for municipal or public purposes;

H. R. 5669. An act to provide for adjustment of irrigation charges on the Flathead Indian irrigation project, Montana, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5816. An act to amend the act of April 25, 1947, relating to the establishment of the Theodore Roosevelt National Memorial Park, and for other purposes;

H. R. 5822. An act to establish the Saratoga National Historical Park, in the State of New York, from the lands that have been acquired by the Federal Government for that purpose pursuant to the act of June 1, 1938 (52 Stat. 608), and for other purposes; and

H. R. 5839. An act to authorize the conveyance to States, or political subdivisions, of roads leading to certain historical areas administered by the Department of the Interior, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H. R. 3578. An act to reduce in area the Parker River National Wildlife Refuge in Essex County, Mass., and for other purposes;

H. R. 4804. An act to allow service credit for certain enlisted men of the Coast Guard who acted as policemen and guards at the Ivigtut Cryolite Mine, Greenland, during 1940 and 1941;

H. R. 4817. An act to amend the act of July 23, 1947 (61 Stat. 409) (Public Law No. 219 of the 80th Cong.); and

H. R. 4892. An act to amend the act of July 23, 1947 (61 Stat. 409) (Public Law No. 219 of the 80th Cong.); to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H. R. 5174. An act to authorize Commodity Credit Corporation to make adjustment payments to certain producers of raw cane sugar in Puerto Rico and Hawaii; and

H. J. Res. 333. Joint resolution to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the termination of the War with Spain; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 5553. An act to amend paragraph 1772 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended; to the Committee on Finance.

H. J. Res. 354. Joint resolution to provide for the disposing of the Government irrigation experiment station at Bard, Calif., and the establishment in lieu thereof of a similar station at or near Brawley, Calif.; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

CARTER GLASS, OF VIRGINIA

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. President, our acting chaplain in a beautiful and lovely prayer has just asked that God, in this crisis, raise up world leaders among us. I rise to pay tribute to a world leader that God once gave us, who is no longer with us, but whose memory I hope will ever remain fresh in the minds and hearts of his former colleagues.

As the present occupant of the seat which the late Carter Glass occupied for more than a quarter of a century in the Senate of the United States, I approach with humbleness the task of eulogizing my illustrious predecessor.

I realize full well that I cannot add to or subtract from his place in the history of our Nation or the esteem and affection in which he was held by those who knew him. He was literally showered with honors while yet alive. By act of Congress a special coin bearing his likeness was issued by the United States Treasury. A plaque acknowledging his contribution to the establishment of the Federal Reserve System became a permanent part of the vestibule of the marble building which houses its Board of Governors. Portraits and busts by eminent artists were set up in various places to commemorate his work. A building at Harvard University bears his name. A chair of political science at Sweet Briar College was founded in his honor. Although his own formal education stopped at the age of thirteen, colleges and universities throughout the Nation honored him with degrees and medals and foreign governments added ribbons and citations.

But, it is not primarily in these material manifestations that the memory of Carter Glass lives on. It may be said of him as Pericles said of the young men of Athens:

So they gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; and their story is not graven only on stone over their native earth, but lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives.

I shall not attempt to duplicate the work of biographers who have recorded the incidents of the life of Carter Glass covering the long period from his birth in Lynchburg, Va., on January 5, 1858, until his death here in Washington on April 21, 1946. I shall not attempt to measure the impact on him of such events as secession, the War Between the States, the tragic era of reconstruction, industrial expansion in the East and the building of railroads to the great empire of the West, the Spanish-American War, emergence of the United States as a world power, his associations with William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson, World War I, the depression, and the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and, finally, World War II.

Nor shall I attempt to assess his own influence on events during his period of public service as a local official, State senator, member of his State's constitutional convention, Member of the House of Representatives, member of platform committees of party conventions, Secretary of the Treasury and finally, Member and president pro tempore of the United States Senate, while concurrently he wielded his influence as a newspaper publisher.

As our mutual friend, the Honorable Lindsay Almond, of Roanoke, Va., said at the convention which nominated me to succeed Carter Glass, his contribution—

Was not of the material, but of the immaterial, not of the flesh but of the spirit. It was his moral courage, his intellectual integrity, his absolute disregard of and contempt for the political consequences of the course of action upon which conscience and conviction had impelled him to embark that was his greatest contribution to his State and country.

As was well said in a resolution adopted by that convention:

His strength of character, honesty of purpose, nobility of soul, courage of conviction, forensic power, sanity of judgment, tenacity of principle, depth of ethical concept, political and personal integrity, devotion to duty, loyalty to friendship, love for his country, and unwavering fealty to his God, will ever stand as the bulwarks of his greatness, the vehicles of his accomplishment, and as a perpetual monument to his memory.

I might quote from Mr. Glass' own first speech as a Member of the House of Representatives, and say of him as he then said of his late colleague, Representative John F. Rixey, of the Eighth Virginia District:

Nobody better understood and no life has more surely conformed to, that philosophy

which teaches that well-being of the soul depends only on what we are and that nobleness of character is nothing else but the love of good and the scorn of evil.

All of this, of course, would embarrass Carter Glass if he were alive today, since he once said:

I am genuinely embarrassed by being praised for such things as integrity, independence, and courage. I regard those as virtues of the common man. In all my life, day in and day out, I have never done anything but what I would expect and what would be expected of the average man of good sense and good character.

On this and many other occasions he exhibited a modesty that is an essential ingredient of the product we call "true greatness."

There was, for example, the letter he wrote in acknowledgment of the information that his brother, E. C. Glass, would be elected to the Virginia Board of Education, in which he said:

I frequently think of the inequalities of this life. This finds no better illustration than in the fact that Ned Glass, with infinitely more culture, learning and real ability than I, with vastly more real work to his credit, has given 40 years of his life to Virginia at a comparatively paltry wage, whereas the Commonwealth has loaded me with distinctions which he might more properly have received. The only compensation I can think of for such inequalities is the fact that my brother's work has been of a more enduring nature than mine and will be remembered by succeeding generations long after I shall have been forgotten.

And no one can better appreciate than I that tribute to his brother because it was my happy privilege to attend for 6 years the public schools of Lynchburg which he headed.

This modesty about his own abilities doubtless contributed to the fact that in his case offices literally sought the man rather than the man the office.

He was drafted for a seat in the Virginia Senate, was virtually pushed by friends into the State constitutional convention, was first elected to the House of Representatives while hospitalized outside of his State, and after once being defeated for the United States Senate was appointed to this body and was returned thereafter throughout his lifetime without opposition within his party.

His political fights were for party and for principle and for candidates other than himself. The speeches by which he is best remembered were on behalf of suffrage reform in Virginia, national currency and banking reforms, sanity in national fiscal affairs, vigorous prosecution of wars, and integrity of the courts. The campaigns in which he spoke most emphatically were for the election of Woodrow Wilson, Alfred E. Smith, and Franklin Roosevelt as President and for Harry Byrd as Governor of Virginia.

But it never was through compromise with his conscience or surrender of convictions that he maintained his place in public life.

He was dubbed "The Unreconstructed Rebel" by Franklin Roosevelt after refusing the post of Secretary of the Treasury for a second time because he could not subscribe to the financial policies of the President. He adopted

as his own the creed of Senator Lucius Q. C. Lamarr, of Mississippi, who in 1879 advised the Senate of his intention to cast his vote in defiance of instructions from the legislature of his State, explaining:

Even in this hour of their legislative displeasure and disapprobation I cannot vote as these resolutions direct. I cannot and will not shirk the responsibility which my position imposes. My duty, as I see it I will do, and I will vote against this bill. When this is done, my responsibility is ended. My reasons for my vote will be given to my people. Then it will be for them to determine if adherence to my honest convictions has disqualified me from representing them; whether a difference of opinion upon a difficult and complicated subject to which I have given patient, long-continued, conscientious study, to which I have brought entire honesty and singleness of purpose, and upon which I have spent whatever ability God has given me, is now to separate us.

In addition to citing these words from Senator Lamarr's speech, Carter Glass emphasized his own philosophy in the statement:

I have a distinct distaste for a modern-day phrase "public servant." To me it was never intended to mean abject subservience to the public will, however uninformed or misdirected. I prefer to think of a United States Senator as a representative of the sovereignty of his State and subject every moment of his service to the promptings of his conscience and the preservation of his own intellectual integrity. He has no moral right to sacrifice either to the clamor of the multitude or to the decree of "titled consequence" wherever it may be enthroned. Long ago I learned—indeed I did not have to learn; it is a self-evident proposition—that the public man who permits himself to pause long enough to inquire whether a thing is popular or unpopular, instead of seeking to know whether it is right or wrong, is not only useless, but dangerous to his country. He is a coward to begin with and a menace always.

Espousing such principles, Carter Glass stated his convictions in a forceful manner that was a joy to those who agreed with him and a terror to his opponents. The specific questions which he discussed are not before us today, but some of the same problems are involved and, at this critical time in our history, I think there is something more important for us to do than merely to recall the career of this former Virginian. It will help us to remember his political philosophy.

In World War I, when German submarines were sinking our unarmed merchant ships, he abhorred appeasement. In advocating the arming of our merchant marine he said:

I want the people of Virginia to know that I oppose any surrender, actually or implicitly, of any vital American right merely to propitiate a war-mad foreign nation, which already has strewn the seas with the dead bodies of helpless American victims. I want them to know that I have no absolution for such a crime; that I stand for full reparation and ample security, and am utterly opposed to the suggested interference of Congress with the diplomatic functions of the President.

I want them to know that I should despise myself for a vote cast here to warn American citizens that they must travel the free waters of the globe in merchant ships at their own peril, without their country's protection. I want them to know I would tear to tatters my commission as a Member

of the House of Representatives could I imagine that the people of Virginia would have to do a thing so repugnant to my sense of national honor and so at variance with my conception of national self-respect.

And there are some things worse than war. Virginia has homes that might be desolated and mothers who might be distressed and sons who might be sacrificed. But I pray God that the mothers and sons of Virginia who live appreciate their heritage from those who, "being dead, yet speaketh." Two of Virginia's boys are my own—stalwart, manly fellows, for either of whom I would die a thousand times—and I would have them hear me say, without a tremor, in the spirit which I hope animates their hearts, that I would rather be pursued through time and eternity by the pitiful apparition of their shattered forms than to see my country dishonored and its flag hauled down in disgrace.

On two great questions, the rights of the States and public spending, he took strongly the position of Mr. Jefferson, which some people would call conservative, but which he considered truly liberal, and he often denounced so-called liberals who were liberal only with other people's rights and other people's money.

He adhered strictly to the view that our Federal Government was a government of delegated powers, expressly stated in the Constitution, and that all others were reserved to the States. He was shocked when alive and would be inexpressibly more so today at the proposal to have the Federal Government assume control and regulation over all election laws and qualifications, public education, civil rights, and police protection in the States.

When he was Secretary of the Treasury, this is what he had to say about deficit financing and public spending, in his report to the Congress after the close of World War I, and I think these words are prophetic:

All sense of values seems to have departed from among us. The departments, bureaus, and boards, all inspired by a laudable enthusiasm for their work, but some by a less laudable instinct to magnify its importance, bombard the committees of Congress with projects, some more or less meritorious, some of no merit whatever, but all conceived in sublime indifference to the facts that the great business of Government is being run at a loss and that each one of these projects increases the deficit of the Government and consequently the burden to be thrown upon the great body of people, whether the deficit be met by increasing taxes or by floating additional loans. For no fallacy is more grotesque than the assumption that by issuing bonds or notes or certificates of indebtedness now we may pass on to future generations the burden of our own extravagance. The burden of these issues will have to be met today, not only in the interest and sinking-fund charges added to an already heavy load, but in the expansion of credit which is inevitable as a result of the issue of such securities, constituting as they do a prime basis for additional credit in the hands of the holders, whoever they may be. I shall not elaborate upon that point, but I want to say to you in all solemnity that a hundred million American people will pay for the extravagance of the Government, whether that extravagance finds its incidence in governmental waste or in the desire to accomplish real or fancied benefits for a portion of the community.

Let us now get back to bedrock. Let us remember that there can be no spending by

the Government without paying by the Government, and that the Government cannot pay except out of the pockets of the people. Let us remember, too, that in the last analysis taxes and the cost of Government loans are borne by 100,000,000 people. The burden of taxation, the burden of credit expansion is inevitably shifted to the whole people of the United States. Some methods of finance are better than others. Some taxes are less readily adapted to being shifted from the backs of the people as a whole; but in the long run the burden of governmental waste and extravagance falls more heavily upon the poor than upon the well-to-do and more heavily upon the well-to-do than upon the rich. By graduated income taxes we tend to mitigate this consequence, but we cannot wholly avoid it. Let us not fail to remember that the Government of the United States is simply a name for the people of the United States and that all of the people of the United States will pay in inverse order to their ability for extravagances of the Government perpetrated in the interest of a portion of the people or a section of the country.

In a Senate speech in 1938, Carter Glass said:

Perhaps I am a relic of constitutional government—I am rather inclined to think I am. I entertain what may be the misguided notion that the Constitution of the United States as it existed in the time of Grover Cleveland is the same Constitution that exists today, and that if Mr. Cleveland—

Whose veto message Senator Glass had just read into the RECORD—

with his clear conception and courage, could find nothing in the Constitution then which authorized appropriations for special purposes and not for the general welfare, I cannot today find anything in the Constitution warranting such action.

He also said:

The people should keep in mind that the Constitution is a set of written rules designed to control the desires of public officials. The people should realize, fully, when public officials continually propose, or continually do, unconstitutional acts, or continually inveigh against the provisions of the Constitution, that these same public officials are really seeking the destruction of constitutional government in appeasement of their own desires. Such public officials do not wish to govern—they seek to rule.

We hear much of "privilege" and "privileged classes," but I should like to remind the people there is no class more privileged than those who occupy public office. Today, by breaking down constitutional barriers, public officials in many parts of the world have succeeded in extending their privileges, making them exclusive.

I pause here to say prophetic indeed is that statement of 10 years ago in regard to public officials under the guise of doing good things for the people acquiring the power to rule the people. Let us make no mistake, Mr. President, that could happen to us.

Carter Glass further said:

In their own safety, there is one privilege the people of the United States should keep for themselves. That is the privilege of final decisions, both as to legislation and administration, as well as the final decision as to who shall legislate and administer.

He also said:

This is what Daniel Webster meant when he said: "Nothing will ruin a country if the people themselves will undertake its safety; and nothing can save a country if they leave that safety in any hands but their own."

In his radio speech in 1937 attacking the proposal to pack the Supreme Court, Senator Glass said:

Why should we not proceed, as in honor we are bound to do, by first contriving legislation for social and economic security, painstakingly drafted by competent lawyers with a clear conception of the Constitutional prohibitions against invading the rights of business and individuals by a species of confiscation and by utter indifference for reserved powers of the States? Why should we not quit legislating by pious preambles and conform our enactments to the requirements of the Constitution and thus put upon notice the cabal of amateur experimenters that we will have no more of their trash? * * * If it then be found that we were mistaken in the expressed belief that the Constitution is ample to our purposes, let us do what we promised to do and appeal to the people to amend their supreme law. Let the impatient proponents of the pending scheme turn to the advice of George Washington in his famous Farewell Address, in which he admonished against disregarding "reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power," saying: "If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

In concluding the same speech, Senator Glass also quoted the statement of John Stuart Mill that—

A people may prefer a free government; but if from indolence, or carelessness, or cowardice or want of public spirit, they are unequal to the exertions necessary for preserving it; if they can be deluded by the artifices used to cheat them out of it; if by momentary discouragement, or temporary panic or a fit of enthusiasm for an individual, they can be induced to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man, or trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions—in all these cases they are more or less unfit for liberty.

But Carter Glass was as far from a die-hard conservative as any real statesman we have had since the Civil War. On the subject of the tariff, he was almost a free-trader, and he could never understand how his colleagues and friends, Senator Norris and Senator Borah, could consider themselves progressives and liberals and vote for high protective tariff schedules that "picked the pocket of every consumer for the benefit of a chosen few." On the subject of regulation of credit controls, the national banking system, and the stock market, he was not just fully abreast of the New Deal; he was far beyond it and in front of it. The Securities and Exchange Act, one of the really progressive pieces of legislation of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations, carried out belatedly recommendations that Carter Glass made to the Congress when he was Secretary of the Treasury. On the subject of public power, he stood on the battle line with the late Senators Norris, of Nebraska, and Walsh, of Montana, and with them fought the Power Trust tooth and nail, over Muscle Shoals, Grand Coulee, and the Tennessee Valley Authority.

After World War I, inflation reached its peak in the spring of 1920. As a member of the platform committee of the

Democratic convention of that year, Senator Glass prepared and secured the adoption of this plank:

The . . . high cost of living can only be remedied by increased production, strict government economy, and a relentless pursuit of those who take advantage of post-war conditions.

Mr. President, I feel that his spirit is right here today. I feel that he is telling us today, "If you will economize in your Government expenditures, if all will join together to increase production, and if those who are chiseling and those who are cheating and those who are making unfair profits will be relentlessly pursued, we can meet the threat of inflation."

That is the reason, Mr. President, I have today invited the attention of the Senate not to what Carter Glass did, not so much to the honors which were conferred upon him, but to the fundamental principles for which he stood, which are as true today as they were when he spoke them, 10, 15, or 25 years ago.

He believed in public as well as personal frugality. As a boy he marked in one of his father's books these words from Jefferson's first inaugural speech:

Economy in public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened;

The payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith;

I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not the multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, and for increasing by every device, the public debt, on the principle of its being a public blessing.

Those words, uttered by Jefferson more than a hundred years ago, were marked by little Carter Glass in his father's book, before he ever dreamed he would have the privilege of administering the great financial agency of this Government, before he ever dreamed he would have the privilege of sitting in the greatest legislative body in the world and making a living reality those fundamental truths which he had imbibed in his boyhood, from his father's library in the city of Lynchburg.

Between the surrender of Lee at Appomattox and the destruction of Hitler's war machine in World War II, Carter Glass was able to say with Ulysses of old: "Many things have I seen, a part of which I was."

We see him first, a barefoot boy of five, standing solemnly and awe-strickenly on the bridge of the James River with his fellow townspeople on a beautiful May day in 1863 as the old packetboat *John Marshall* passes down the canal, carrying all the mortal remains in a flag-draped coffin on its deck of the great Stonewall Jackson, hero of Manassas, Chancellorsville, and the valley campaigns. We see him last, the great statesman, author, and defender of the Federal Reserve Act, Secretary of the Treasury, senior United States Senator from Virginia, and President pro tempore of this body, broken in health but not in spirit, awaiting the summons from his Maker to lay down the noble sword of his endeavors and come into the portals of everlasting

peace. And as one who both loved and feared his Maker and through the stress and strain of critical years had demonstrated that a Christian life is not incompatible with a successful political career, he, at the time of passing, was able to say, in the dying words of Stonewall Jackson, "Let us cross over the river and rest in the shade of the trees."

NATIONAL HOUSING

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 866) to establish a national housing objective and the policy to be followed in the attainment thereof, to facilitate sustained progress in the attainment of such objective and to provide for the coordinated execution of such policy through a National Housing Commission, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] to strike out title VI, relating to low-rent housing, as amended, by the amendment offered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], as amended.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I should like to add a few remarks to those made yesterday, in an effort to clarify the question before the Senate and to better inform Senators who did not happen to be on the floor yesterday.

As the result of what was to my mind a very illuminating debate, I feel that two outstanding and conclusive issues have been proved in support of the amendment which was submitted yesterday by the junior Senator from Washington, which proposes to strike out title VI, the public-housing section, offered as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for Senate bill 866.

The first point I have in mind, Mr. President, is that the most outstanding fact is that the public-housing section which my amendment would delete from the bill is not of an emergency character, as are most of the other sections of the so-called Flanders amendments. The senior Senator from Ohio yesterday told the Senate he doubts very much whether construction could be started on any of these public-housing projects before 1950.

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. FLANDERS. May I suggest, on the contrary, that except for the extension of title VI of the Housing Act, this is not an emergency bill; it is a long-range bill.

Mr. CAIN. That, if I may suggest to the Senator from Vermont, and if I understand correctly what he has just said, is exactly what I was endeavoring to state.

Mr. FLANDERS. In speaking of title VI I am not referring to title VI of the pending bill; I am speaking of title VI of the National Housing Act, which is the liberalized FHA.

Mr. CAIN. I was very obviously referring to title VI as it appears in the Flanders amendments, beginning, I think, on page 77; that having been the section which was debated at considerable length during the course of the session yesterday.

The Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] explained to the Senate very clearly that it may be as many as 10 years before the 500,000 public-housing units in question could be constructed. It therefore appears to me that not one single line of the public-housing section which we are presently discussing will provide a single unit of housing today, when such housing is so sorely needed throughout the country. So far as I know, there is absolutely no provision for the control of the construction of such housing, except here in Washington, a fact which I think was rather clearly demonstrated yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY]. If we pause to reflect but a few moments on other provisions of the Flanders amendments we shall find that most of them are emergency and temporary legislation, intended to provide housing units immediately, when the country needs them most.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. McCARTHY. Would the Senator consider modifying his amendment to provide for separating the public-housing provision from other noncontroversial features of the bill, and then having the public-housing question become the pending question on a day certain, say a week from Monday? My reason for asking that is this: I intend to go along with the Senator, not that I oppose public housing; I favor the public-housing section as presently amended. I think it is a good, sensible section; but I think public housing should be separated from the remainder of the bill. If that is not done, I fear that both public housing and the other much needed housing legislation may be defeated.

As the Senator knows, the remainder of the bill undertakes to streamline and make workable all the previous housing legislation. As to voting for the Senator's amendment, I am sure many Senators will feel that in so doing they are voting against public housing. If the Senator would consider amending the amendment so as to separate public housing from the other provisions of the bill, the subject could be taken up on a day certain, possibly a week from next Monday, giving the committee time to perfect the housing section.

Mr. CAIN. It seems to me that the junior Senator from Washington differs from the junior Senator from Wisconsin only in degree. I think both of us feel, as we properly should, that the subject of public housing is one of the larger problems before the American public and before the Congress. I am thoroughly satisfied that we believe the subject is deserving of exhaustive research and debate by the Congress of the United States. The junior Senator from Wisconsin appears to think that the public-housing section which I seek to delete is of such a character that he could support it if it were discussed as a separate measure on the floor.

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes; but in my opinion additional amendments are required. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] indicated yesterday that he agreed that it should be amended. I think it

should be amended to take from the Public Housing Administrator all the various functions which he never should have had under his jurisdiction. I think it needs further amendment, although even in its present form I would vote for it, now that it has been radically changed. Previously we started at the top of the low-income groups. Now we are starting at the bottom, where I think we should start. I believe it is a good section, but I should not want the Senate to take any action which would appear to preclude free consideration of the public-housing section. I might say that I think with additional amendments it should be adopted.

Mr. CAIN. It seems very clear to me that the junior Senator from Wisconsin is presently making a very worthwhile contribution, namely, that whether we vote on a public-housing measure within the confines of the bill presently before us, or whether we do so separately, the section must, before it is perfected, be amended, from the Senator's point of view and apparently from the point of view of the senior Senator from Ohio, in a number of particulars, which is only confirmatory of the fact that a sufficient amount of work has not been done on public housing to justify passing on the problem favorably at this time.

Mr. McCARTHY. I do not want to misquote the senior Senator from Ohio. The only statement he made was in answer to a query of mine as to whether he would go along on an amendment to take away from the Public Housing Administrator certain functions which he now has and which I think he should not have. The senior Senator from Ohio indicated that he might go along. He said nothing except what he said on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. CAIN. I think there is no room for any difference of opinion.

Mr. McCARTHY. I should like to say to the Senator from Washington, in order to make it clear for those who are opposed to public housing and those who are in favor of it, that both groups would feel free to vote for the amendment if the Senator would consider including in it a provision that would keep the public-housing section separate. Then it could be the order of business on some day certain. I am very much concerned with passing a bill containing both public housing and all the other badly needed housing provisions. A good example of the view which is commonly held was found at the dinner table a little while ago, where I was talking with a Senator, who said, "If you take public housing out of the bill there is nothing left." That indicates the rather general feeling that the bill is a public-housing bill. I know that many Members of the House feel that we are debating nothing except a public-housing bill. We know that a very minor section of the bill deals with public housing.

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], who represents a different school of thought, the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], and myself have now ironed out all of our major differences. There still remains a rather minor difference. Much as I dislike to admit it, I think

possibly they are right. So if we can separate the two, I think we can pass housing legislation quickly, and I think it will go through the House quickly. We can then take up the question of public housing which I think is a very important problem.

Mr. CAIN. I find only one fault with the Senator's suggestion that the motion presently before the Senate be amended to provide for debate on a given date in the immediate future, taking up the subject of public housing for consideration as a separate subject. I think it would be unwise to limit the time within which we shall debate, if my motion should prevail, one of the most fundamental problems facing the country. I think it would be much better to leave to the leadership of this body the question of when we shall debate the subject.

Mr. McCARTHY. If we adopt the Senator's amendment, will the Senator go along with us in committee and on the floor, not in support of the housing bill, but in order to bring before the Senate a public-housing measure so that it can be debated and acted upon at this session?

Mr. CAIN. I should like, as an individual Senator, to do nothing more than that. I think we should separate public housing from all the aids and stimuli to private building and really determine what America's needs are and how they can best be met. Anyone who has taken the time, as most of us have, to read the RECORD of yesterday must realize that there is such an exaggerated difference of opinion among all the very serious and sincere advocates of public housing that perhaps we had better take more time to reconcile the differences before we take action.

Mr. McCARTHY. For the benefit of the record—I think I personally know what the Senator's belief is, but I think this concerns some of the other Senators—if the Senator's amendment should be adopted, even though he may vote against public housing, I hope he will not oppose bringing the question to the floor of the Senate so that it can be acted upon.

Mr. CAIN. I am by no means certain that I would oppose public housing after a full debate on the subject. I would oppose its inclusion in this bill, in which, in my considered opinion, it does not belong. I think I have stated very strongly to the Senator from Wisconsin that I shall be most happy, in fact, enthusiastic, to have an opportunity at the earliest reasonable time to participate on the floor of the Senate in a discussion of public housing.

Mr. McCARTHY. I will say to the Senator that with that assurance I shall go along with his amendment wholeheartedly. I think the present public-housing section is a good section. In my opinion it needs some amendment, but I believe it might be fatal to the entire bill to confuse the question of public housing with the other housing features of the bill. I believe that by throwing both of them into the same pot we will undoubtedly lose the whole cause of housing, and what happened last year

and the year before will occur again, namely, a housing bill defeated because there is so much confusion in the minds not only of the legislators, but of the public as a whole. I know the Senator realizes that we are receiving a great flood of telegrams opposing or supporting the bill, which contains 101 valuable features, solely upon the basis of this one minor section in the bill dealing with public housing.

Mr. CAIN. I agree entirely with the Senator's fear that the entire housing bill may be held in jeopardy because of the confusion, if the public-housing section is retained in the bill, because it will be so generally misunderstood, and the subject is so highly confused that people who are desirous of supporting strong housing legislation are inclined to vote against it for fear they will be making a very serious and fundamental mistake.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I should like to make one comment. The Senator from Wisconsin said that if the housing bill shall be defeated it will be because it is linked with the public-housing program. The Senator is in error, in my opinion. If it is defeated, the primary cause of the defeat will be two of the most powerful lobbies that ever descended on the Congress, one the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the other the United States Savings and Loan Association, who have been doing their dirty work around the corridors of Congress and in the committee rooms for the last 4 years, endeavoring to hamstring and cut the heart out of the bill.

I should like to ask the Senator a simple question, and I hope he will not go into a long argument about it. Does the Senator believe in the principle of public housing?

Mr. McCARTHY. I heartily favor the bill as presently amended. I agree with the Senator that there is a lobby here that is not working well. But I may say that the so-called real-estate lobby has done more to convince me that public housing is needed than those who have been lobbying in favor of public housing.

Mr. TOBEY. That is fine, but if the Senator thinks it is needed, he is taking a very unusual course not to have it included in the bill. If the need exists, let the Senator take a positive stand and come along with us. The water is fine.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I held hearings from one end of the country to the other on the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, and people came forward and wholeheartedly and vigorously opposed the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill because of one feature, the public-housing feature. They did not realize that there were some 10 other sections in the bill which had nothing to do with public housing. I know, to be frank, that if we combine public housing with the remainder of the badly needed legislation, there is going to be a great deal of opposition to the whole bill, solely because of the misunderstanding as to what public housing is.

Mr. TOBEY. There will be opposition, I know that full well, but a large part of the opposition will be based upon the

machinations of men, not based on reason, but on an excuse.

I shall not interrupt the Senator further at this time, but I shall have something to say later.

Mr. McCARTHY. I may say, for the benefit of the Senator from New Hampshire, that I hope the Senator from Washington will amend his motion so as to provide that if the public-housing title is separated from the other provisions of the housing bill, then the public-housing section will be the order of business.

Mr. TOBEY. When?

Mr. McCARTHY. I should like to fix a day certain. Perhaps we could agree on one, perhaps a week from Monday.

Mr. TOBEY. Will the Senator vote for the public-housing bill when it comes along?

Mr. McCARTHY. I not only intend to vote for it, but I shall support it.

Mr. TOBEY. Then why does not the Senator favor including all the subjects—the general housing shortage, public-housing delinquency, and the slum clearance cancer on the body politic—in one bill, a bill hammered on the anvil, in white heat, considered for 4 years under the leadership of the Senator from Ohio, and reduced to something tangible and constructive to meet all the problems? So far as a long-term program is concerned, the whole thing is a long-term program, helping to steer a course for betterment in housing in the United States. It is threefold. It should invite the Senator's confidence and his support. He is too good a man to try to defeat it here.

Mr. McCARTHY. I think the Senator from New Hampshire and I agree almost wholly. My opposition to public housing has been on two grounds. First, that up until we amended the bill, it did not reach down to the very low-income group. The selective process of obtaining tenants I felt was based upon a question of how we could more easily administer rather than integrate the activity. I know the Senator agrees with me in that, and the Senator from Vermont agrees, and the Senator from Ohio likewise.

There is one other ground on which I have opposed public housing, that is, because of the bad administration of public housing. I do not think we can blame any one individual for that. It is the fault of the Congress largely. During the wartime, and subject to the war, we threw into public housing a great number of corporations, all with different assets, all with different bookkeeping systems, to such an extent that finally there was a somewhat unsavory mess.

Under the able direction of Mr. Foley that situation has been improved. For example, of the 66 bookkeeping deficiencies that were originally reported, all except 10 have been corrected, I think, 100 percent. The other 10 are being slowly corrected.

The Senator was not present a few days ago when I asked the Senator from Ohio about this matter. I should like to make one other amendment to the public-housing section, and then I think we would have a perfect public-housing bill, one that would take care of the very low-

income group, where the need is greatest, and in no way interfere with private enterprise.

I should like to have an amendment in effect to make sure that never in the future would the Public Housing Administrator be given a great number of jobs because there was nowhere else to lodge them, but that he should handle the one and only job of taking care of the administration of public housing. For example, there is no reason why he should be burdened with the administration and disposal of the Greenbelt towns, there is no reason why he should be handling the disposal of war housing.

In that connection, I think Mr. Foley has taken a part of that work from the Housing Administrator. But if the motion of the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] is defeated, I intend to vote for the housing bill. I think the public-housing section is in relatively good shape. I think that unless we pass the remainder of the housing bill we will have almost a complete stoppage of housing construction.

I heartily disagreed with the Senator who yesterday said the bill should be re-committed to the committee because we are drafting a bill on the floor of the Senate. We are not. It may have been confusing, but with the Flanders amendments amended as they have been up to date, I should have no objection at all to their being substituted for the 14 amendments which I submitted, because I believe they are almost identical, with a few minor changes.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Washington yield?

Mr. CAIN. I am delighted to yield.

Mr. TOBEY. I shall be very brief. I think my comment is germane.

In my judgment, the Senator from Wisconsin has just taken the heart out of his own opposition. He said that the bill had been materially improved, that the public-housing title had been materially improved, that the administrative provisions had been materially improved. But ergo, he says, the bill is not perfect. I wonder if the Senator ever heard the story of the prayer meeting when the minister sat up front and the people sat in the pews. The minister was talking about a divine character in human history, and asked if anyone had ever heard of a perfect man, and no one answered. But a little timid fellow in a back seat raised his hand. The minister said, "Have you ever seen a perfect man?" The little fellow rose and said, "No; I never did, but I heard about one." The minister said, "Who was it?" The reply was, "It was my wife's first husband." [Laughter.]

I submit that the Senator has taken the heart out of his opposition. He tells the Senate that the bill is improved. Ergo, do not seek perfection. Because it is better, put it to work. The Senator from Wisconsin, the Senator from Washington, and the Senator from New Hampshire, with our colleagues, under the Reorganization Act, will place the authority in the proper hands, and it will be up to them, having the control over the Housing Administrator, the like of which has never been seen before, to

hold up his hands and do a good job. Come on.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President—

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I shall be delighted to yield, but I hope the Senator from New Hampshire can accommodate himself to my desire that he remain for a moment, and not duck out.

Mr. TOBEY. I shall remain.

Mr. McCARTHY. If the public-housing section is left in the bill, I sincerely hope we will pass it anyway. My opposition is not because of the modification of the bill. I think the bill is finally in such good shape that I could wholeheartedly go along with it. My principal objection was pointed up downstairs a few minutes ago, when I was sitting at the table in the Senate dining room with the Senator talking about the Cain motion. At that time the Senator said to me, "If the Senate adopts the Cain motion and strikes public housing from the bill there will, of course, be nothing left in the bill."

It points up to this, that the great mass of the public and legislators feel that we are merely dealing with a public-housing measure. I think we can pass that bill in the Senate as it is. I fear very much that what will happen will be what has happened before, which is that it will never be brought up for a vote in the House. I should like to have the suggestion of the Senator from New Hampshire on that point.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, the Senator from Wisconsin says he does not think the bill will ever be brought up for a vote in the House. Let me give a word of warning. It is not permissible to criticize the other branch of Congress, and I am not going to do it. Nevertheless I belong to the Republican Party, and I wish to give a bit of advice to members of my party. We will have an election in this country in November, and the party conventions will be held before that time. May I give a little inside advice to my Republican Party? If our party wants to appeal to the rank and file of the great common people of the country by advocating something which is constructive and tangible, in my opinion we cannot present a better program for the betterment of the economy of the Nation and to improve industrial conditions than to pass legislation dealing with housing conditions in America, legislation which will encourage the building of housing, which will provide for slum clearance and for low-cost public housing. If we proclaim such a program to the American people we will receive their acclaim and reward.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I know that the Senator from New Hampshire has deep feelings and convictions about the whole bill before us. He feels—and I am not prepared to disagree with him—that there is and will be a continuing need for public housing. Let us assume by way of argument that the Senator from New Hampshire is correct. It does not necessarily follow that because he is correct and America should need public housing, a provision to cover public housing should be contained within the confines of a bill which is generally understood in many sections of the country

to be a stimulus to the building of houses. If we include this public-housing provision in the bill I think we are unintentionally misleading not only the people at large, but ourselves as well.

America expects houses to be built at this time, for we have a critical emergency housing problem. The best testimony we have comes from the sponsors and the advocates of the present provision covering public housing, in that they are the first to agree and admit that not a single house will be started under the provision, as I understand, before 1950. There is plenty of time.

The junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] and other Senators indicate that the measure has been materially improved. Of course it has been improved from what it was when attempts were first made to debate it. It seems to be logical to me that the bill can be further improved.

We did not have the information until yesterday as to the direction in which we are really going to go and in reference to the total number of public-housing units the country needs and ought to have. My only feeling, and that of those who support me in the motion which I made yesterday, is that the study of public housing, for one reason, because the bill in its present form, if adopted, will not add any new units of public housing at this time, is deserving of as much and as exhaustive consideration as the Senate of the United States can see fit to give it in its own right and in its own time. To include section VI within the provisions of a bill which is designed primarily to stimulate and create houses against our housing shortage, I think will place the whole measure in jeopardy. I wanted to make myself entirely clear to my good friend, the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator from Washington always makes himself very clear to me and to all who listen to him. He is a lucid speaker, an intelligent speaker. I admire and respect him very much.

Touching upon his remarks respecting the Senator from New Hampshire, he points out that we will not get any action on public housing until 1949 or 1950. If that is so, it is a strong argument for taking the proposed action now. The longer we postpone taking this action, the longer it will be before there will be any public housing. That is not an argument in favor of putting off action by Congress. Come with me, Senators, to New York and see what has been done there in the way of public housing. Visit Hull House and see what is being done there. Visit other public-housing enterprises in the great cities of the country. Look them over and see what has been done. See how they are conducted. See the types of homes that have been constructed. See the improvements that have been made, and Senators will not want to wait, but will want to do it now.

The Senator speaks about the public-housing bill. For 4 years we have been considering public housing. We have been considering it up and down, back and forth, pro and con, here and there.

The subject of public housing has been thoroughly elucidated by master minds of the Senate; such men as the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], who took a great leadership here; the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]; my friend the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. Their hearts have been in this thing. They have believed in it. They have lived and slept with it.

Mr. President, people are crying out for this thing. Before God, do not turn them down today in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, it seems to the junior Senator from Washington that by no means are those of us who support the motion endeavoring to turn down what are known as the little people who are in need of housing. I think it is well to say we want to separate and divorce the two subjects, so that we will do a better job on both subjects.

Again in referring to the matters which were so deeply gone into by many Senators yesterday, I am concerned to see, with reference to the Senator from New Hampshire, who feels as strongly as anybody on the basis of sympathy for those whom he seeks to help, that he cannot provide the Senate with the answers to the questions we all have a right to ask.

Referring for a moment to the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], who spoke yesterday, he wanted to know where we are going from where we begin. I think that is a very reasonable request.

Referring to the words of the Senator from New Hampshire and to the other very distinguished and intelligent Senators who sponsor title VI within the bill, I suggest there was such a monumental difference of opinion among them as to where we are going that we should hesitate and pause before we start without sufficient knowledge of what the results are going to be.

As an individual I am not certain to what extent and to what degree America is in need of public housing. I think there are persons within our country who ought to be taken care of by the Federal Government. My own opinion is that they are fewer than most people think, but I believe we will be more satisfied as to what the facts really are if we can separate public housing from a bill within the confines of which it does not belong, and I would join with any group of Senators to accomplish that purpose at the earliest possible moment.

I should like to make one other point in connection with what I think is a germane subject concerning public housing. Some of us are concerned that control over the number of units which could be authorized by the public-housing title, title VI, to which we are addressing ourselves, is lodged entirely in Washington. We are not certain that it should not be lodged in Washington, but when we begin a monumental undertaking we must be absolutely positive from our point of view before we set up an administrative agency which is not as perfect as we think it can be made to be after future conversations.

The facts as they have developed from the debate have proved conclusively, to

me anyway, that the figure 500,000 units was presumably picked almost from the air. So far as I know the figure 500,000 was not based on any factual study and actual need. Senators will recall that in my discussion yesterday with the junior Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] I pointed out the figures used by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], who spoke of 6,000,000 units as being the number of substandard units throughout the country. The distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, has concluded, on the basis of what he assumed to be the facts, that there are presently in this country about 10,000,000. The senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] was very frank to say publicly that he did not know how many there were, but his best guess was that the figure would be approximately 2,000,000 units. So I think it important for us, as we vote either in support of or in opposition to the motion to strike the public-housing section from the bill, that we should be very conscious of one thing, which is that we are not, despite the limitations contained in a single piece of legislation, speaking of 500,000 units of public housing which will ultimately, over an amortized period of about 45 years, cost about \$6,000,000,000.

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. FLANDERS. I should like to suggest that there is another approach besides that of the range from 500,000 to 10,000,000. By the way, the estimate of 10,000,000 comes from very questionable sources.

Mr. CAIN. Will the Senator permit me to ask a question?

Mr. FLANDERS. Let me complete this thought. The approach of the Senator from Ohio was that this rate of building was as fast as it was safe to go, and that the total of 500,000 called for in the bill was based upon a possible production of 1,000,000 houses a year, of which he said not more than 10 percent should be at any one time in public housing. So that is the basis for the 500,000, rather than it being based upon an unknown figure as to need.

Mr. CAIN. Yet I think it proper to say to the Senator from Vermont that that is not an answer to the question in the minds of most of us. We can now understand, since the Senator has so clearly stated it, where the figure of 500,000 comes from; but that is not an answer to the question as to how far we are going in the future, and how far we ought to go. The Senator from Vermont has just suggested that the figure of 10,000,000, which I find in the RECORD of yesterday, came from very questionable sources. Are those sources any more questionable than the sources from which any of the other figures have come? There are conclusions to the effect that there is need for 2,000,000, 6,000,000 or 10,000,000 units but no one has established the validity of the figures in a single instance.

Mr. FLANDERS. I am not able to verify my recollection at the moment, so I will give it merely as my recollection.

My recollection is that the figure of 10,000,000 came from a lobbying source hostile to public building. I am sorry that the junior Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] is not in the Chamber. When he returns I should like to interrogate him as to the source of the figures; but that is my recollection.

Mr. CAIN. It is my understanding that the junior Senator from Virginia will be here later and be available for questions.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. I think perhaps the Senator from Washington is familiar with the general views of the Senator from Oregon with reference to the Federal Government going into business. The Senator from Oregon is opposed to it in every case unless there are most compelling reasons for it. However, it occurs to me that we are faced with a condition and not a theory with reference to the slum areas in the large cities of the United States. I have no knowledge as to the extent to which private enterprise has in the past attempted to deal with the problem of construction of substitute housing to take the place of housing in the slum areas in the cities of the United States. Does the Senator from Washington have only information on that subject? I ask the question because if there is any experience indicative of an answer to this problem in the field of private enterprise, I shall be opposed to title VI. But if on the other hand, we are faced with a situation in which private enterprise cannot, on the basis of the necessity for a profit for moneys invested, do the job, then it seems to me that there is no alternative but Federal subsidy.

Mr. CAIN. My own feeling is that the private builders of this country—and I refer to large investment houses, insurance companies, and so forth—are doing and will do a remarkable job in providing living accommodations for those possessed of incomes not on the bottom, but somewhat higher than that. I think it is perfectly safe to say, as one who wants to eliminate public housing from the bill at this time, that the private builder will probably not find it possible to accommodate the housing needs of those who will or should live in the low-rent accommodations provided under title VI. But I should like, if I may, to emphasize to the Senator from Oregon that we seek to divorce the public-housing provision from the other portions of the bill not necessarily because we oppose public housing—for a number of Senators who will presumably vote in favor of the pending motion are in favor of public housing—but because we are convinced that a better approach to the problem will result.

Mr. CORDON. What is that approach?

Mr. CAIN. It will be a compromise, if one can be reached on the basis of this particular title. We must bear in mind that for a considerable number of months not a single, solitary unit of public housing would result from the passage of the bill, even if the bill were actually passed through the House and

Senate and signed by the President this afternoon.

Mr. CORDON. Under the provisions of the bill, cannot private enterprise, if it will, move into any area from which the slum dwellings have been cleared to make the area available for new construction, and invest its money with a substantial guaranty from the Government against loss?

Mr. CAIN. There is a very clear answer to the Senator's question within the bill. Title VI of the bill—

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. GEORGE. I should like to ask one question. I have been confused by the statement of the Senator from Oregon. Title VI of the bill does not deal with slum clearance. Title V of the bill is the title under which slum clearance appears. Title VI relates entirely to public housing.

Mr. CAIN. The motion made yesterday by the junior Senator from Washington sought to eliminate from the bill what is known as title VI.

Mr. GEORGE. But that does not refer to slum clearance.

Mr. CAIN. No. It refers to public housing. Title VI begins on page 77. The section to which the senior Senator from Oregon refers is found on page 61, under title V, headed "Slum clearance and urban redevelopment." The only thing to be taken from the bill if the motion prevails is the provision covering public housing, as opposed to slum clearance and urban redevelopment. The other sections are not touched at all.

Mr. CORDON. Is not the purpose of title VI to provide low-cost housing for those who now are forced to live in slums which will be cleared under title V?

Mr. CAIN. That is quite correct; and the slums must be cleared before there can be constructed in those areas houses in which people of extremely low incomes may live.

Mr. CORDON. Then my first question would appear to be pertinent. What is the Senator's view with reference to it? Let me rephrase the question. Under the terms of the bill as the Senator understands it, is there any requirement that the Government shall proceed with public housing in any case in which private enterprise is willing to proceed?

Mr. CAIN. No. The reverse is the case. As a matter of fact, the local community must establish the fact that private enterprise in that locality is not qualified and ready to do the job.

Mr. CORDON. Then I get down to the meat of the question. I am not one of those who can measure the necessity for relieving human misery in terms of dollars. I realize that we must have dollars to do it, but I think we must first determine what must be done and then decide what is the best way to do it. I am assuming now that conditions in the slum areas—and they are slum areas because they are congested with people who have none of the ordinary conveniences of living and no opportunity to do more than merely exist—are such that there is a necessity that something be done.

Mr. CAIN. In my considered opinion there most certainly is.

Mr. CORDON. Then, what can we do in lieu of what is proposed in this bill? If there is something that can be done by private enterprise and if there is any assurance about it, then I am opposed to title VI, I say to the Senator from Washington. But unless we can have that assurance, I shall be compelled to support that title.

Mr. CAIN. All of us are trying as best we can to provide an answer for that very natural inquiry. First, we know that slums exist in the United States. Second, we should like to rid the United States of those slums. Third, we must figure out the best way to do so. The United States is faced with many obligations, and in some instances perhaps we must discharge many of them at the same time.

But with respect to this proposed legislation, we are faced with a housing shortage. People all over the country say, "We want housing." We realize that by using money and men and materials we can have just so much housing at any one time.

One of the reasons why I hope to divorce this section or title from the remainder of the bill is that I hope that at this time nothing will be done to jeopardize meeting the primary emergency, namely, that of taking care of the housing shortage in the United States. If we wish to continue to build public housing units within a period of 2, 3, or 4 years, most experts say that we could build them during such a period only by preventing the construction by private builders of a corresponding number of houses.

In the second place, a number of us do not wish to be a party—and we say this very sincerely and very seriously—to misleading, even though unintentionally, the American people any more than we have to. What is this bill, Mr. President? It is called by some the T-E-W bill. It has been a matter of controversy all over the country for a long time. It would do two things. Most people think it will do either one thing or the other, but very few persons know that its intent and purpose is to do two things. One is to cure or alleviate the housing shortage in the United States, and the other is fundamentally and essentially an attempt to solve a welfare and social problem, namely, to provide houses for persons of low incomes.

As to the latter purpose, perhaps we should start on such a program; everyone is in agreement that there is a need which must be satisfied. But, Mr. President, once we start on a large-scale program of providing for the housing needs of persons of certain salary and income standards in the United States, where are we going to wind up? There has been a serious attempt to define the limits and to obtain an answer to that question on the floor of the Senate, but it simply has not been securable by anyone. Therefore, in the midst of misunderstandings and confusion, in this particular instance I wish to make clear to the Senator from Oregon that, so far as I know, there is no need for speed, particularly when speed might jeopardize the attainment of the other fine purpose of this bill, and that we can safely

divorce one from the other, and then have the Senate and the House of Representatives determine the issue of public housing per se, by itself.

Those are primarily the reasons, from my point of view, which I think are logical and important, as to why we should separate the two functions.

For example, not very long ago the Congress spent many hours and made real progress on the subject of national aid for education. On that subject no other divergent ideas were being presented. We said we had to grapple with it, and we knew, or thought we knew when we got through, where America was going in terms of Federal aid to education. Soon we shall be faced with exactly the same situation in terms of health. But why should not we do the same thing in respect to housing? Education and medicine and housing are social problems.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, is it the view of the Senator from Washington, then, that he opposes the inclusion of title VI on the ground that the problem sought to be met by it should be separated from the general housing problem and should be treated as a separate question? In other words, is the point simply one of procedure?

Mr. CAIN. From my point of view, it should be treated not only as a separate question, but as a social or welfare question, as opposed to a housing question. This country is in the midst of making up its mind as to what it wishes to do in terms of housing for persons of low incomes. That is not a housing problem. It is based on the number of dollars and the general surroundings and circumstances within which people of a certain stratum of life in our society live.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, to permit me to ask a question?

Mr. CAIN. Yes; provided the Senator from Oregon does not wish to pursue his question any further.

Mr. CORDON. I may ask the indulgence of the Senator later.

Mr. KEM. This question is pertinent to something the Senator from Oregon said. He spoke of the problems created by the large numbers of persons who live in congested areas in cities, and who do not have what he referred to, as I recall, as the conveniences of life.

In the State from which I come, we have congested areas in at least two cities, I am sorry to say; but we have thousands of persons who live elsewhere in our State and who do not have the conveniences of life to which the Senator has referred. Is it fair or proper for the Congress of the United States, representing all the people, to take the money collected from all the people and use it exclusively for the benefit of people who live in congested areas in cities, without the conveniences of life, and at the same time forget entirely the thousands of people who live in other areas and who are without exactly and identically the same conveniences?

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me, to permit me to answer the question?

Mr. CAIN. Certainly.

Mr. CORDON. I should like to suggest to the Senator from Missouri that in years long gone I have known personally what it means to live without what we now term the conveniences of life. I think I am fully familiar with that situation, and I think I have had a rather long experience in that field.

I submit that it is one thing to live on a primitive level in a place where at least God has given one space, and it is quite another thing to attempt to exist in a congestion that leaves to a family one or two rooms, with nothing more than floors, walls, and ceilings, and with room after room and floor after floor and block after block shoved together until the congestion becomes intolerable as a place for human beings to attempt the business of living and raising children. There is a difference.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me, to permit me to ask a further question?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. KEM. I should like to ask the Senator from Oregon whether in his opinion the difference creates a distinction which the Senate and the House of Representatives should observe in connection with appropriating the public money.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, if I may answer the question, I would say it does. There is a difference in degree and a difference in result that is manifest if one gives the matter even cursory consideration.

Mr. CAIN. I wish to say to the Senator from Oregon that I share his feelings in this connection. I do not take it that I am arguing about the merits. I would argue strenuously about the degree of help which such persons need and about how many of them there are and about what it will cost, not in terms of dollars, but in terms of balancing dollars which are used over a period of time for one purpose, as against another, so that simply in the realm of pure finance we would know what we were undertaking.

Let me urge again for the consideration of Senators that, at least from my point of view, it seems to me that by divorcing this section from the remainder of the bill, the result will be a better bill; and I further believe that during the ensuing time lag, no time in terms of units of public housing will be lost at all.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question and an observation?

Mr. CAIN. Certainly.

Mr. CORDON. I am intensely interested in determining how I should vote on this question, and at this moment I am still undecided.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield, to permit me to ask another question?

Mr. CAIN. I ask the Senator first to permit me to respond to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CORDON. The question is this: If we assume in the first instance that there is some obligation to do something about the congested slum areas, would it not be well to make a start to the extent at least of getting rid of some of these festering-sore centers, of eliminating the

structures now located there which prevent any other housing construction thereon that might be habitable, and at least have some places within the urban areas where people may plan an orderly program, even though at a later time we may find it necessary to prohibit the further expenditure of Federal funds? Would it not be better for us to do something along that line now than simply, through major surgery, to attempt to eliminate entirely the public-housing provision and attempt to prevent the Government from going into this heavy expenditure? It probably will be a heavy expenditure.

Mr. CAIN. On the day of the passage of the bill—

Mr. CORDON. If I may conclude, would it not at least be better to start to do something, and then take our time? We would have a year, or perhaps 2 or 3 years, within which to determine whether we want to go beyond the simple clearing of the land and giving private enterprise an opportunity of functioning.

Mr. CAIN. It all depends upon the way we look at it. This bill, as I understand beyond the confines of title VI, does a great deal and will begin to do a great deal practically upon its enactment to accommodate the Senator's wishes.

I think that every Senator who is satisfied with the wording of title VI and is satisfied with the 500,000 houses in question, who does not care to concern himself with the lack of administrative cautions, when we ought to be cautious, on the basis of our experience with public housing in the past; every Senator who is not concerned with thinking about where the 500,000-unit program leads us; and any and every one who shares the Senator's conviction, as I do, that there are persons in our country needing assistance, should very freely and gladly and enthusiastically vote for the measure as it is presented before them. But those of us who are curious and who think they have a slight understanding of what great decisions mean in terms of the future, in the fields of health and education, and medicine, and all the rest, cannot support a concept which has not been fully considered from our point of view.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. KEM. If the Senator will excuse me for interrupting him, I should like to ask this question: Suppose public housing were provided in the congested area of the principal city of the Senator's State; suppose that were done on the theory that the situation from a social point of view was more acute than in any other city within his State; is there anything in the Senator's experience in public or private life leading him to believe that after the people living in that congested area were furnished modern up-to-date housing at public expense, the people of the second largest city in the Senator's State will not be at his doorstep with a similar request, and so on until all the cities of the State are taken care of? Furthermore, is there anything in the

Senator's public and private experience leading him to believe that people outside the cities will not be importuning the Congress for housing at public expense?

Mr. CAIN. A very interesting question, which has not been discussed on this floor, is precisely the one raised by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. THYE and Mr. ELLENDER addressed the Chair.

Mr. CAIN. If I may be permitted to conclude my reply to the Senator, I think, on the basis of my experience, that much of what he says is true. I think there is a need. We must satisfy a need. I am not clear about the size of the problem, but we ought to know in reaching a decision on what we shall do, that we are not going to place a house on one corner, in which a man possessed of so many dollars a year of income may live, while directly across the street from him, or next door, lives a man, making \$7.50 a month more, who will raise the question or have it raised for him by those who represent him before future Members of Congress, "Since my cost of living has gone up, why can I not have what the Government has so freely given to somebody else?" But despite that, I think in that sense, in support of the position of the Senator from Oregon, we must reconcile the problems which will arise while we are satisfying the demands in the terms of what they actually turn out to be in the future, and not in the terms of a 5-year period, because once we go, we shall never come back.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. KEM. My question to the Senator is this: When he has once started the people of his State on his heady draught of housing at public expense, where are they going to stop? Where is he going to cut them off? What voters is he going to take care of, and what voters is he going to decline to recognize?

Mr. CAIN. I think I can give the Senator a fairly good answer. My answer is, I do not know where we are going beyond the 500,000 units included in a 5-year program, but I know we are going somewhere. In this debate many have gone 5 years and stopped, as though that were the end. That is another fundamental reason why I think it is imperatively important that we project our thinking not 5 years, but 10, 15, or 25 years ahead, for the reason that once the decision has been made the Congress ought to be in a position to utilize every medium of expression known to man, to inform the people of the country what public housing really means. If we do it too rapidly or too hurriedly or too carelessly, we shall have demands on us out of all proportion to what they ought to be.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. THYE. I have listened to the debate on the question of public housing, slum clearance, and slum eradication, and at first I was of the opinion that I justly and conscientiously should be able to support the motion of the junior Sen-

ator from Washington. However, as the question has been debated and studied, I have tried to visualize slum areas in cities with which I am definitely acquainted, and it seems to me if we are going to be able to bring about slum eradication, there must be public housing going hand in hand with it.

Taking a slum area with which I am familiar, if by removing one or two blocks of that blighted area, or erasing it entirely and making of it a very nice public-housing unit, it would have the immediate effect of clearing and improving all the adjacent property, it would naturally follow that the investor, with his investment in those houses, would immediately find it profitable to improve the property, either because of improvements in the heart of the blighted area, or the public-housing unit which had been built therein. For that reason I shall support, and have always supported, public-housing projects which would erase a blighted area, because no investor will go into a blighted area and improve a property for the bare sake of improving it, knowing that all of the adjacent territory is nothing but a blighted or slum area.

So, as I listen to the debate, I want to say to the junior Senator from Washington that I cannot support his amendment for the reason that it would stymie slum clearance through the mere fact of tearing down homes without providing a place for the families who would be compelled to vacate the premises, except in either public housing or, in the event that houses should not be built, property as to which their means would not permit them to compete with tenants already occupying rented quarters. I say to the Senator that it seems to me the two propositions go hand in hand. We should have slum clearance because children who are compelled to live in slums or blighted areas are subjected to all the influences that breed juvenile delinquency. It is much better, in my opinion, that we spend money in improving living quarters and community conditions than to spend money in prosecutions of children and having them cared for in reformatories, training schools, or even penal institutions.

It is my conviction that blighted areas bring human problems which cost the taxpayers money, whether they are State or Federal problems. So we had better remove that which brings about all the heartaches which juvenile problems cause, rather than to spend time bickering over the question of whether we shall vote on the measure a week or 2 weeks or 2 months from today. It seems to me that it could all be embodied in one bill. We cannot have slum eradication and clearance without some sort of public-housing policy along with it.

I am sorry that I find myself changing my mind in the course of the debate.

Mr. CAIN. I have no quarrel with the Senator's position. I merely think he is wrong. I think the attainment of the objectives he has in mind will undeniably be reached by divorcing the public-housing section from the bill.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. ELLENDER. I have been trying to obtain the attention of my distinguished colleague from Washington for some time. He gave as one of his chief reasons for desiring to delete title VI from the bill that the subject of public housing needs further study.

Mr. CAIN. Among other reasons.

Mr. ELLENDER. That is one of the chief reasons, as I have just indicated. The Senator is aware of the fact that at least 6 reports from committees of the Congress have favorably recommended public housing. The House Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning; the Senate Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning; the Senate Banking and Currency Committee when the W-E-T bill was submitted to the Congress in 1946 and was passed by the Senate without a dissenting vote. It contained, in effect, practically the same provisions as are now included in the pending measure. Then the Senate Banking and Currency Committee reported the original Senate bill 866, known as the T-E-W bill, in March 1947. Then the Joint Committee on Housing reported favorably on the subject in 1948 and, again, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee reported the amendments which we are now considering.

Is it not a fact that the distinguished Senator was a member of the Joint Committee on Housing which made the study and which spent, I am informed, \$100,000 in trying to discover the extent to which Congress should go towards alleviating housing shortages?

Mr. CAIN. Without knowing how much money the committee has thus far spent, the answer to the remainder of the Senator's inquiry is that I am a member of that committee.

Mr. ELLENDER. Paragraph 14 of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Final Report of the Joint Committee on Housing has this to say on the subject of Public Housing:

Provision should be made for assistance to local communities under the United States Housing Act of 1937 for the provision over a period of the next 5 years of a maximum of 500,000 units of low-rent public housing for families of low income, with (1) additional safeguards written into the act to increase local responsibility, make sure that tenancy is restricted to low-income families, and avoid any competition with private housing; (2) preference to the families of veterans and servicemen for a period of 5 years; (3) revision of the applicable cost limitations, which have not been revised since the original act of 1937, so as to bring them in line with current housing costs; (4) shortening the period for the payment of annual contributions from 60 years to 40 years; (5) an increase of the rate of maximum Federal contribution by 1 percent per annum of development cost, which increase will be more than compensated for by the shortened period over which Federal contributions can be paid; (6) provision that, in the event of a major default by a local authority in its contractual obligations, the Public Housing Authority may take over a low-rent housing project until such default is cured, and may continue to pay annual contributions not in excess of the original amount contracted for; and (7) revision of the present \$800,000,000 borrowing authorization of PHA to make it clear that amounts repaid are available for reloading.

Is the Senator acquainted with the fact that the original bill which was reported in March of last year was not taken up soon after it was presented to the Senate, but that debate on it was deferred for the purpose of obtaining the views and recommendations of the Joint Committee of which the Senator was a member?

Mr. CAIN. That is correct.

Mr. ELLENDER. The plan was then devised to permit the Committee on Banking and Currency to reinvestigate, as it were, the provisions of Senate bill 866 and try to make them conform as far as possible, with the recommendations of the joint committee. Is the Senator not acquainted with the fact that the public housing provision under title VI has been revised to comply with the recommendation of the joint committee?

Mr. CAIN. I am not only familiar with what my very good friend has said, but also with more things. I had forgotten that the bill to which the Senator referred, which was reported by the Banking and Currency Committee 2 years ago, was not debated after it had been seriously considered within the committee for a period running back several years, and that apparently, as the Senator has stated, debate was deferred subject to an investigation made by the joint housing committee of the Congress. I am further mindful of the fact that the 1947 bill to which the Senator has referred was reported by the committee, if I am not mistaken, by a vote of 7 to 6. It was not a unanimous report. The bill which is now before the Senate, if I am not mistaken, came out of the Banking and Currency Committee after the matter had been before the Congress and the people for 3 or 4 years. It was likewise reported by a vote not of 13 to 0 or 12 to 1 or 11 to 2, but by a vote of 7 to 6. I happened to be one of the 6 on both occasions. I do not construe my vote in opposition to supporting the bill to be a vote in opposition, substantially, to public housing as such. I think it is perfectly fair to say that I am sure Senators would like to participate in further debate on the subject of public housing.

Mr. ELLENDER. How did the Senator vote on the report made by the Joint Committee on Housing?

Mr. CAIN. If I am not mistaken, I did not sign in support of the report. I was in support of much of it, but I did not feel it advisable or wise to sign it.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. Gladly.

Mr. MURRAY. I should like to call the attention of the Senator to the fact that the National Catholic Welfare Association has just issued a statement, and inasmuch as it contains some matters which are very pertinent to the discussion now proceeding, I should like to read from it. It is as follows:

The social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference urges the speedy enactment of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill (S. 866) as a partial solution to the national housing problem. This bill, which has been carefully worked out after exhaustive study and extended public hearings and which enjoys an unusual measure of

bipartisan support, represents the very minimum which the public has a right to expect from the Federal legislature in the face of a national crisis which is playing havoc with the stability of family life in the United States.

The sponsors of the bill assume, and rightly so, that private enterprise has the primary function in providing decent housing for all of our citizens. But the sponsors are realists. They recognize that private enterprise, alone and unaided, is not and will not in the immediate future be in a position to solve the entire housing problem and that the Government therefore will serve the interests of social justice if it takes up the slack by supplementing the efforts of private builders.

The philosophy underlying the bill, then, is a wholesome philosophy and one which is in perfect harmony with American tradition—a tradition which calls upon the Government to intervene in economic and social life only to the extent that the Nation is faced with problems which individuals and private associations are unable to cope with successfully on their own initiative. The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is designed not to bypass or to undermine private enterprise, but rather, on the contrary, to protect it against the consequences of its own temporary inability to solve all of the complicated problems of the housing industry.

Particularly worthy of praise is the provision in the bill which would authorize the continuation of the present Federal low-cost housing program for low-income groups in the United States. This is not socialism, but rather the carrying out of a responsibility which the Government cannot in good conscience neglect or disregard. The bill also provides for the liberalizing of the loan provisions of existing Federal legislation in regard to housing for middle-income groups. It makes specific provision for cooperative housing, which again represents a wholesome trend in keeping with the finest of American traditions. It provides also for loans and grants to municipalities for slum clearance and city planning.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is not a panacea. If enacted, it will not automatically solve the entire housing problem. But it will at least authorize the Federal Government, in a spirit of wholesome cooperation with private enterprise and with local or municipal housing authorities, to hasten us toward a partial solution to the problem, and it will thereby serve to strengthen the American family, which is the basis and the fount of successful social living in a democracy.

We respectfully urge that the bill be enacted as speedily as possible.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator from Montana would give me his impression as to how many units of slum housing there are in America.

Mr. MURRAY. I could not give the Senator any definite figures, but I assume that the number is very great. Practically every city in the country has its problems of that character.

Mr. CAIN. My reason for asking the question is that we are here concerning ourselves with a provision that contemplates 500,000 units to be built over a period of 5 years, the ultimate cost to be \$3,000,000,000. If that were all there was to it, probably everyone could come to terms in a hurry. But what is the ultimate load? I think that is a proper interrogation. We should be much better informed than we are at present. In the Senator's absence yesterday figures were cited running all the way from 2,000,000 units to 10,000,000 units, and everyone was willing to agree that they were only guesses, and not based on fact.

Mr. MURRAY. I assume the Senator is much better informed on that phase than am I, but I know that the program that is envisaged by the bill will make a tremendous contribution and will afford an opportunity at least to make a start on a program which is so desirable for the country.

Mr. CAIN. We quarrel mostly, then, because the Senator thinks it should be undertaken at this time within the confines of the pending bill, and I have done what I could to support a contrary point of view.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President—The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KNOWLAND in the chair). Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. I was just handed a statement which was prepared by the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency which attempts to answer the question which has been bothering the Senator from Washington, as to how many units of public housing we may be asked to provide for in the future. With the Senator's permission, I should like to read it.

Mr. CAIN. Please do. I think all Senators would like to hear it.

Mr. ELLENDER. This was intended to be read by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] but in his absence at the moment I shall read it. It is as follows:

There was a considerable amount of discussion on the floor yesterday. The statement was made that as many as 10,000,000 families might eventually need public housing.

Other estimates given were 6,000,000 and 2,000,000. The 10,000,000 figure is an entirely unsupported statement made in the form of a question and bearing no relation to any known statistical or economic fact. While it is impossible to give a precise estimate of the number of families who might eventually need public housing, it is quite feasible to estimate the range of possible need.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I cannot let that statement go unchallenged. We are getting a statement from the Administrator on housing. He says that the statement of a number up to 10,000,000 houses is not supported by the facts. What facts do we have?

Mr. ELLENDER. I shall give them to the Senator if he will be patient. The statement continues:

The Bureau of the Census currently estimates that there are 5,200,000 substandard urban housing units in the country. Obviously the need for public housing could not exceed this amount, since if all of these units were replaced there would be no families badly housed. However, a substantial proportion of these units are occupied by families who have sufficient income to provide themselves with standard housing if the construction of new houses is maintained at a sufficiently high level to overcome the current acute shortage and establish a more normal competitive market for housing.

The figures on family income also serve to indicate the outer limits of the need for public assistance to housing. According to the Census some 5,000,000 urban families of two or more persons have incomes of less than \$2,000 per year.

Mr. WHERRY. Did the Senator ever before hear of this figure?

Mr. ELLENDER. No; I am merely reading it—

Mr. WHERRY. Did the Senator ever hear of it before? It is a brand new figure.

Mr. ELLENDER. The figures are taken from the Bureau of the Census.

Mr. WHERRY. But did the Senator ever hear of it before?

Mr. ELLENDER. There was so much confusion on the floor of the Senate yesterday, Senators saying that there were 10,000,000 units, others saying 6,000,000, and others 2,000,000, that we are trying to clear up the position as far as possible.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator is possibly as well informed on housing as any other Member of the Senate. He is one of the sponsors of the bill, and has done a great deal of work on it. I pay tribute to his ability, and especially his knowledge of housing. But we had a figure furnished us yesterday of two million, we had one of six million, we had one of ten million. Now there comes up a figure of five million, furnished by the Administrator of Housing, and I merely ask the Senator if he has ever heard of that figure before.

Mr. ELLENDER. No.

Mr. WHERRY. That is conclusive that there is confusion about the matter.

Mr. ELLENDER. As to this particular figure, no; but, as I have just stated, the figures are taken from the Bureau of the Census.

Mr. WHERRY. I do not deny that.

Mr. ELLENDER. And I am taking the time of the Senate today to resolve the confusion.

Mr. CAIN. Will the Senator permit me to ask a question?

Mr. ELLENDER. Yes.

Mr. CAIN. I do not like to abuse the Senator's time on the floor, but I think the question of the Senator from Nebraska is a very significant and pregnant one. Yesterday we were actually reading out of the record, from which we got the figures of six million and ten million, and after months, apparently, of research and inquiry on this subject, on the very final day of the debate, the Administrator of Housing comes up with a figure we have never heard of before.

Mr. ELLENDER. I continue to read:

Many of these families live in areas in which construction costs are low enough to permit the purchase or rental of a home at such income level. On the other hand, there may be some families of larger size in high-cost areas for whom such an income is not sufficient to obtain decent housing.

The proportion of these families who may eventually need public housing is obviously dependent upon the costs and prices of housing produced by private enterprise. If private enterprise can produce an adequate volume of houses in the \$4,000 price bracket in all parts of the country, we could cut this maximum estimate by nearly three million. One of the purposes of this bill is to provide aid to private efforts to achieve lower housing costs and prices, thereby reducing the number of families requiring other forms of aid.

The only recent effort by responsible economists to estimate the number of families who might require some form of assistance to obtain decent housing was made by the Twentieth Century Fund in its well known study "America's Needs and Resources" (pages 166-169). The Twentieth Century Fund estimated that over a 15-year period

there might be a maximum of 3,600,000 families whose housing needs could not be met by private enterprise. This estimate is based upon the assumption that all sub-standard houses and slums are completely replaced during that 15-year period, and upon the assumption that we maintain a high level of prosperity during that period. Furthermore and most important, this estimate does not assume any cost reductions by private enterprise.

If we assume that the aids provided by this bill will make it possible for private enterprise to progressively reduce costs and prices, this maximum potential need of 3,600,000 could be substantially reduced. Furthermore, it does not appear to be probable that we will in fact clear all slums in a 15-year period, and this fact would defer much of the 3,600,000 estimate, which assumes that these units will be removed and therefore would have to be replaced.

Finally, it should be reemphasized that the size of the public housing job is dependent upon the progress of the private housing industry in reducing costs and prices. The task of providing decent housing for the American people is a long one. It will take at least 15 years, probably 25 or 30 years to achieve this goal. It would be economically unsound and practically impossible to try to do the job in a shorter time. But we must make a start. The longer we defer the job the worse it gets, the larger the slum areas become, the more numerous the sub-standard houses. This bill contemplates that we will make such a start now. The estimates presented indicate that the magnitude of the total job under unfavorable assumptions is not 10,000,000, not 6,000,000, but something probably less than 3,000,000. The bill provides aids of credit and research which are intended to further reduce that number. It is quite possible that by the time the present program is completed, five years hence, we will have achieved cost reductions and stopped the growth of slums so that no further extension or only very small ones will be needed.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I have answered, in line with my own concept, every question which has been raised during the course of the debate. I should like to say that I think this has been a fascinating exchange of ideas on one of the most confused subjects which faces the Nation. I sincerely trust that my motion to strike title VI from the bill will prevail, because I think the needs and requirements of public housing would be the better met and satisfied by giving separate consideration to a vitally important piece of social rather than housing legislation for the future.

EXTENSION OF RENT CONTROLS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KNOWLAND in the chair) laid before the Senate the amendments of the House of Representatives to the bill from the Senate (S. 2195) to amend and extend the provisions of the District of Columbia Emergency Rent Act, approved December 2, 1941, as amended, which were, on page 2 to strike out line 5 to 8 inclusive and insert:

(a) Any housing accommodations in hotels, as defined by this act, used exclusively for transient occupancy.

On page 2, line 11, to strike out "by conversion"; on page 2, line 12, after "1948", insert "by conversion of buildings or facilities or both not heretofore used

for housing accommodations"; on page 2, after line 19, to insert:

Sec. 3. The prohibition against actions to recover possession of any housing accommodations set forth in section 5 (b) of the act approved December 2, 1941, entitled "District of Columbia Emergency Rent Act" shall not apply unless the tenant is actually occupying such housing accommodations as a home.

On page 2, line 20, strike out "Sec. 3." and insert "Sec. 4."; and on page 3, line 11, to strike out "Sec. 4" and insert "Sec. 5."

Mr. CAIN. I move that the Senate disagree to the amendments of the House, ask a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to, and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. BUCK, Mr. CAIN, Mr. KEM, Mr. HOLLAND, and Mr. UMSTEAD conferees on the part of the Senate.

NATIONAL HOUSING

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 866) to establish a national housing objective and the policy to be followed in the attainment thereof, to facilitate sustained progress in the attainment of such objective and to provide for the coordinated execution of such policy through a National Housing Commission, and for other purposes.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, I had not intended to impose upon the time of the Senate in connection with the consideration of the pending motion, except for the fact that during the course of the debate yesterday the senior Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] made what from my point of view was a very interesting, if not surprising, statement. He said:

I remember that there were those who then—

Referring to some time before—

charged that—this bill—was a communistic or socialistic bill. We hear no charge of that kind made at the present time.

Mr. President, lest silence be construed as lending consent, I feel constrained to raise my voice very briefly to say that that charge is made at the present time. I shall support the motion of the Senator from Washington to delete from the bill the public housing title. I shall do so because in my opinion public housing means socialized housing.

Mr. President, we hear it frequently said that there are two ways of life, two economic systems competing in the world today. The Russian system based on the Marxian principle of the abolition of private property and the means of production, and the American system, based on private property, free enterprise, and personal initiative.

A good many countries in western Europe are trying to combine the two. Our English friends have gone particularly far in that direction, and from all accounts the results have been far from happy. At any rate, those countries are now asking us to send them commodities and goods produced under the American system of free enterprise, because they cannot produce sufficient goods to meet

their own requirements and the demands of their own people.

We are told that the natural resources of Russia are the greatest of any country in Europe and perhaps of any country of the world, and yet we are also told by travelers who come back from Russia that Russia is the poorhouse of Europe.

Mr. President, I realize, as everyone must realize, that there is a housing problem in our country. I particularly sympathize with the position of the veteran who has returned from serving his country abroad, on all the seven seas, all over the world, and when he comes back, as has been eloquently said, he finds himself a stranger in the land of his birth, or as another individual has said, he goes from fox hole to fox hole. Mr. President, that situation is something which always follows war. I have a very poignant and acute personal recollection of the situation which followed World War I.

I am against the bill because I believe that the young men and women of America, including the veterans of America, will be better off in the long run under the American system of free enterprise than under any other system. The wit of man has ever been able to devise. So, Mr. President, I propose on this vote and on similar votes to oppose what I regard as an invidious scuttling or attempt to scuttle the American system which has created and maintained in our country the highest standard of living the world has ever seen.

The trouble with the experiments in socialism, as was brought out in the excellent address by the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN], is that there is no logical way to stop them. Our English friends have found that out. They provide facilities and accommodations and conveniences for one group at the public expense, and immediately find another group waiting to be taken care of and demanding, Mr. President, equivalent and like attention.

There is one other feature to which I want to invite the attention of Senators. It is a fact they are well advised about, and that is, that in 1933 the expenses of the Federal Government were less than \$4,000,000,000 a year. Today they are nearly \$40,000,000,000 a year. The question I wish to raise with all the earnestness of which I am capable is this: How can we reduce the expenses of the Federal Government; how can we reestablish a solvent America, if we are constantly to open up new fields for Federal spending?

Only a week ago the Senate passed a bill which would launch the Government into an important new field of public spending. If that bill becomes a law the Federal Government will be launched into the field of general education, in which the sky is the limit. A week or so later we have a proposal to launch the Federal Government into the field of public housing, which field is wide open. The sky is the limit. If we take care of the people in the congested areas of cities at public expense, as is being urged, for the life of me I cannot see how we can deny attention and care

and equal interest with respect to people in other sections of the United States.

It has been suggested that we lay down the rule that we are to bring to the American people the conveniences of life. I suppose by that is meant sanitary plumbing. If we are to undertake to install sanitary plumbing in all the housing of the United States, we shall certainly find ourselves with a budget far greater than \$40,000,000,000 a year. I do not believe that we are justified in undertaking this housing project unless we do so with the conviction that, having once given the people a draught of such benefits, we must go all the way through. I believe that our experience will be similar to that of England. Conservatives like Winston Churchill joined with Mr. Lloyd George in starting the socialistic ball rolling. Now Mr. Churchill is very much concerned about it, as are many others. I cannot help but wonder if Senators with conservative backgrounds who are joining in this present effort will not live to rue the day.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KEM. I am glad to yield. I always enjoy colloquy with the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. CORDON. The Senator from Oregon joins in that pleasure.

I believe the Senator opened his remarks with the charge that the bill under consideration was both socialistic and communistic.

Mr. KEM. I said that it was socialistic. I do not believe that I used the term "communistic."

Mr. CORDON. I am glad that the Senator now eliminates the term "communistic."

Mr. KEM. I have examined the bill carefully. I have done my best to analyze it. I can reach no other conclusion than that it represents an experiment in socialism, as we understand that term.

Mr. CORDON. At least to the thinking of the Senator from Oregon, there are several analogous operations in which the Government is now engaged. One of them comes immediately to mind. I should like to request of the Senator from Missouri his view as to whether the present program of the Federal Government in the use of sundry measures of levee construction, dam construction, and otherwise, to control the floodwaters of the mighty Mississippi River and prevent terrific flood damage to the lush lowlands of the Senator's beautiful State of Missouri is, in the Senator's mind, an experiment in socialism.

Mr. KEM. I should say not. I should say that that is an effort to cope with the forces of nature. I may say for the information of the Senator that much of the best agricultural land in my State was reclaimed from the floodwaters of the Mississippi by private enterprise, by citizens who organized districts, issued bonds, and reclaimed the land for their own benefit.

Mr. CORDON. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. CORDON. The Senator from Oregon appreciates the fact that, as the

Senator has indicated, the pioneers of the Mississippi Valley did a marvelous job of reclaiming the low-land areas along the Mississippi River. Private enterprise did it. The attention of the Senator is invited to the fact that a situation finally arose with which private enterprise could not cope. I refer to the problem of saving those reclaimed lands from flood damage. The Government then stepped in to do the job, a job which private enterprise as such could not do because of the necessity of continuity of operation, and so forth.

Title VI of the bill—and the Senator from Oregon is addressing himself only to that provision—provides that before any low-rental housing may be constructed and any Federal funds used for that purpose there must be a finding that there is need for that type of housing which cannot be met by private enterprise. In view of the fact that this type of need is one which seems to the Senator from Oregon to be exactly parallel to the need of the farmers in the Senator's own State for protection against floods, the analogy is so complete that one might well place this type of legislation in the same category with flood control.

Mr. KEM. I am glad that the Senator brought up the question of flood control, because it very well illustrates the difficulty which is intrinsic in a situation of this kind. In my State of Missouri we have, as I have stated, a considerable amount of land which has been reclaimed at the expense of the owners. They have built dikes; they have maintained them throughout the years; and by the sweat of their own brows they have paid for them. Those owners do not look with any great satisfaction on the Johnny-come-latelys who are waiting in our lobbies to obtain money from the Federal Government to do exactly the same thing. The situation is very complicated and difficult. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON], who is an expert in that field, is seated in the Chamber. I do not attempt to say that I know all the answers; but I do undertake to say that under the present course of the Federal Government there are rank injustices not only to the people in the valleys, but to the people in the uplands who pay the taxes to reclaim the lands in the valleys.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. KEM. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. Does the Senator favor the existing soil-conservation program and its benefits, and parity payments to farmers?

Mr. KEM. I am glad to have the Senator bring up that question. In my native county in Missouri, which is an agricultural country, the population has shrunk 24 percent during the past 7 years. There is no question that that has been largely due to the loss in fertility of the land. Let me say to the Senator that I am much more interested in fertilizer, lime, and conservation measures in the valley of the Mississippi and the Missouri than I am in the valleys of the Ganges, the Yangtze, the Oder, and the Rhine.

Mr. TOBEY. But that does not answer the question of the Senator from New Hampshire. I ask the Senator specifically, Does he favor the Soil Conservation Act and its benefits, and parity payments to farmers?

Mr. KEM. I favor intelligent, conservative, economical efforts to restore and maintain the fertility of the soil of the United States, upon which the prosperity and happiness of all of us depends.

If the Senator from New Hampshire is directing my attention to any specific act, I say to him that I am critical of certain provisions of existing legislation. I am critical of certain provisions of proposed legislation. I shall be glad to discuss both with him in detail at some appropriate time.

Mr. TOBEY. Has the Senator from Missouri voted, as a Member of the Senate, for appropriations to finance the Soil Conservation Act and parity payments to farmers?

Mr. KEM. I shall be glad to vote for what I consider proper measures for that purpose.

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator from Missouri has voted for measures for that purpose; has he not?

Mr. KEM. Perhaps I have. I certainly should be glad to vote for them again.

Mr. TOBEY. Proceeding a little further with the analogy, which I think is fairly on all fours, the Senator in talking with the distinguished Senator from Oregon, I believe—I may be wrong—imputed to this housing program the title or the name or the kinship of socialism; did he not?

Mr. KEM. Exactly. I consider it an experiment in socialism.

Mr. TOBEY. Very well. Now I ask the Senator another question: If it is socialism for the Government to aid and abet people to have homes of their own, through Government loans, and the provisions of the housing bill and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, does the Senator from Missouri see very much difference between that and having the Federal Government use the taxpayers' money for parity payments and for soil conservation, and the liming of land, and so forth, so far as the question of socialism is concerned? What is the distinction in the Senator's mind?

Mr. KEM. I say to the Senator from New Hampshire that I think during the years of the New Deal, following the year 1933, the Federal Government went far in many directions along the line of socialism and toward the ultimate destruction of the American way of life.

For my part, I consider that at the last election the American people indicated in no uncertain terms that they had had enough, and that they wanted to turn back and wanted to reverse the trend. So I am hopeful that in voting on the pending legislation and on all similar provisions as they come before the Congress from time to time, this body will adhere to the expressed will of the people in that regard.

Mr. TOBEY. I should like to ask one more question, and then I shall sit down.

Mr. KEM. Let me say to the Senator that I am glad to have him ask questions. He is not wearing my patience, and I hope I am not wearing his.

Mr. TOBEY. I know that many are long suffering when I am on the floor.

But what difference does the Senator see in his mind, in connection with the charge of socialism, as between a Congress that votes funds for soil conservation and parity payments and bailing out banks and insurance companies when they go to the wall in time of depression, and helping people get houses by means of Government aid? What is the difference so far as socialism is concerned?

Mr. KEM. I say to the Senator that some of the things he mentions, I consider very munificent and useful governmental activities. Some of them I would much rather see done on a State and local level, rather than to have them done by the Federal Government.

Before I sit down, I shall have something to say in regard to the question of whether private enterprise has had full opportunity to cope with the problem of slum clearance. But I wish to say to the Senator that in my judgment if it is finally determined that private enterprise cannot cope with the situation, I think it will be far better to have it dealt with on a State and local basis, rather than to have it dealt with by the Federal Government.

I shall tell the Senator very succinctly one reason why I think so. Today the Federal Government has an indebtedness of approximately \$258,000,000,000. The best advised Members of this body are uncertain whether we are going to be able to bear the debt service required by that tremendous obligation.

As against that, the local subdivisions of government have a debt of approximately \$2,500,000,000, and they have tax resources which reduce their total outstanding indebtedness to approximately \$1,000,000,000. So it seems to me that if the Senator from New Hampshire is correct, and he may be in taking the position that public intervention is necessary in order to deal with this problem, then for my part I think it should be dealt with on a State and local level.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri apply that same logic to flood control and farm benefits and soil conservation?

Mr. KEM. If the Senator from New Hampshire is referring to the valley of the Mississippi and valley of the Missouri, of course, obviously that is an interstate problem; and if it has to be dealt with by public authority, it must be dealt with by the Federal Government. That matter was thoroughly threshed out a few days ago in connection with the Fulbright bill to extend the operations of the Bureau of Reclamation into the Mississippi Valley.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, I shall close, if I may, if the Senator from Missouri will bear with me for a moment further, by quoting a statement of a great radical in this country, a statement which I find echoes in my heart. I hope it does in the Senator's and I hope it does in the hearts of my Republican colleagues; and I commend it to the conven-

tion at Philadelphia, which I hope will adopt this principle as a part of its platform framework in its proceedings during the coming June:

We aim to set up in this country a human society, not an economic system. We aim for increased production and greater efficiency, but to the end that we may have happier home life in America.

Does the Senator from Missouri agree with that?

Mr. KEM. Yes; and I also—

Mr. TOBEY. Does the Senator from Missouri know who was the great radical who said that? That was Herbert Hoover. It is good enough for me.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, let me quote this to the Senator. Disraeli once said:

I am a radical because I want to eradicate all which is bad, and I am a conservative because I want to conserve all which is good.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, if the Senator from Missouri thus takes Disraeli's words from his own lips, and says, in keeping with this statement, "I am a radical because I want to eradicate all which is bad," then I welcome him to the company of the apostles of slum clearance and public housing.

Mr. KEM. Yes, Mr. President, I wish to eradicate the bad and evil influence of socialism and communism and fascism and New Dealism and all the other pernicious "isms" which are infesting our land.

Mr. President, I do not wish to try the patience of the Senate, but I should like to say here that from my point of view the answer to the question whether private enterprise can adequately deal with the problems of slum clearance is by no means clear. We have heard much said to the effect that it has not done so in the past few years. Of course it has not done so. How could private enterprise do it, when in the first place we have been shipping great quantities of building materials abroad, both to Europe and elsewhere all over the world, thus creating shortages in the United States; and, in the second place—and this is more important—we have restricted private enterprise by literally hundreds of directives which have tied the hands of builders in many ways. So it seems to me we should be patient about this matter.

Today the Senator from New Hampshire referred to the wonderful housing developments which have been erected in the metropolitan area of New York City, and he invited the Members of the Senate to accompany him on a tour of inspection of those buildings. However, he neglected to say that those were built by private enterprise, under the free-enterprise system.

So I hope the Senate and the House of Representatives will not at this time launch the Federal Government on this untried, uncertain sea of Federal housing.

Mr. SPARKMAN obtained the floor.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. Mr. President, I should like to say for the record that

on yesterday the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] asked me this question:

Are they to clear slums and erect houses where the slums had been?

My answer was:

The act is not specific on the subject.

I ask to have incorporated in the RECORD at this point in my remarks section 10 (a) of the original Housing Act of 1937.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS IN ASSISTANCE OF LOW RENTALS

SEC. 10. (a) The Authority may make annual contributions to public-housing agencies to assist in achieving and maintaining the low-rent character of their housing projects. The annual contributions for any such project shall be fixed in uniform amounts, and shall be paid in such amounts over a fixed period of years. No part of such annual contributions by the Authority shall be made available for any project unless and until the State, city, county, or other political subdivision in which such project is situated shall contribute, in the form of cash or tax remissions, general or special, or tax exemptions, at least 20 percent of the annual contributions herein provided. The Authority shall embody the provisions for such annual contributions in a contract guaranteeing their payment over such fixed period: *Provided*, That no annual contributions shall be made, and the Authority shall enter into no contract guaranteeing any annual contribution in connection with the development of any low-rent-housing or slum-clearance project involving the construction of new dwellings unless, subsequent to the initiation of the project and within a period specified by the Authority, there has been or will be elimination by demolition, condemnation, and effective closing, or the compulsory repair or improvement of unsafe or insanitary dwellings situated in the locality or metropolitan area, substantially equal in number to the number of newly constructed dwellings provided by the project; except that such elimination may, in the discretion of the Authority, be deferred in any locality or metropolitan area where the shortage of decent, safe, or sanitary housing available to families of low income is so acute as to force dangerous overcrowding of such families.

Mr. ELLENDER. It will be noted that section 10 (a) of the act specifically requires that in connection with any project assisted under that act with Federal annual contributions, there must be eliminated in the locality or metropolitan area unsafe and insanitary dwellings substantially equal in number to the number of dwellings provided by the project. This requirement is a mandatory one, and cannot be waived by the public-housing agency; although, of course, compliance can be temporarily deferred, as during the war and at the present time, when the shortage of decent, safe, or sanitary housing available to families of low income is so acute as to force dangerous overcrowding of such families. I was, therefore, in error when I answered the query of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON]. What confused me at the moment the question was asked, was the fact that I was aware that some local authorities had not cleared slum units equal to the number of new units erected. I overlooked the provision of the law

that compliance of slum elimination could be deferred.

The only statutory exception to this requirement—which is usually referred to as the “equivalent elimination” requirement—is in connection with the so-called Public 671 projects. These are the projects built with low-rent housing funds during the war for the purpose of housing workers in essential war industries during the war period. It is to be noted that despite this statutory exception, the public-housing agency has, as a matter of policy, generally required a commitment by the community to undertake equivalent elimination as soon as possible in connection with these Public 671 projects also.

Where the low-rent housing projects are constructed on slum housing sites, the equivalent elimination requirement is, of course, complied with, in whole or in basic part, by the elimination of the substandard dwellings on the site. Where, because of prohibitive land costs, or because the slum area is not appropriate for rebuilding for residential purposes, or for other appropriate reason, the project is built on a vacant site, the equivalent elimination requirement is complied with by the elimination of unsafe or insanitary dwellings on sites other than the project site. In such cases, the public-housing agency requires, as a condition precedent to any contract for annual contributions, that the city enter into a cooperation agreement with the local housing authority in which the city undertakes to exercise its police powers to eliminate unsafe or insanitary dwellings in the community substantially equal in number to the number of dwellings to be provided by the project. Thus, whether the project is constructed on a slum dwelling site, or on a vacant site, there is eliminated, in connection with every low-rent housing project assisted under the United States Housing Act, slum dwellings substantially equal in number to the number of dwellings provided by the project.

Because of the housing shortage during the war, which has become even more acute since the end of the war, there has naturally had to be some temporary deferment of compliance with the equivalent elimination requirement. But even so, the record of compliance to date has been an excellent one. In connection with the 117,000 low-rent housing units already constructed under the United States Housing Act, more than 106,000 unsafe or insanitary dwellings have already been eliminated. This comes to about 91 percent of the total required in connection with such projects. In addition, over 17,000 substandard dwelling units have been eliminated in connection with Public 671 projects, where the requirement was purely one of policy rather than one of Federal statute. In New Orleans, where 4,881 units have been constructed, there have been 4,013 equivalent eliminations, or about 80 percent.

While on the subject of elimination of slum dwellings, it is to be noted that the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program provided in title V of S. 866

points up very effectively the urgent need for an extension of the public low-rent housing program as provided in title VI of S. 866. One of the basic problems created in connection with any attempts or proposals to clear slums in the past is that the new dwellings put up or proposed to be put up on the slum sites after their clearance are necessarily beyond the means of the many low-rent families that had been living on the sites. It is true that these families may have been living in substandard housing, but at least they had some housing. As a matter of decent consideration, therefore, for the low-income families living in our slum areas, if we are to undertake a program of slum clearance and urban redevelopment—and we certainly should—we must make adequate provision for the low-income families who are living in such areas, and the simple, irrefutable facts are that this can be done only under the United States Housing Act program.

Mr. President, in connection with the consideration of S. 1592 in the Seventy-ninth Congress—the predecessor bill of S. 866, which was passed by the Senate by voice vote—I pointed out that there was never any doubt in the minds of the Senator from Ohio, the Senator from New York, or myself, or, for that matter, of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, that we could be saved a great deal of trouble and difficulty, and that we could considerably smooth the way for passage of a general housing bill if we would have eliminated the provision to meet the needs of our lowest-income families. But we could just not see—and we still cannot see—how, in all fairness, and how, as a matter of simple justice, we could recommend a program that would extend aid to all groups of our citizenry except the very one that needs aid the most. Nor could we see how we possibly could, as a matter of elemental honesty, recommend reliance on alternative aids recommended by opponents of public housing that could prove to be only a delusion and a mockery.

Likewise, we could not see how a modest provision for low-rent housing in a comprehensive housing bill could possibly be considered as inconsistent with private enterprise where, of the contemplated program of one and one-half million dwelling units a year, only 100,000 a year are to be provided over the next 5 years under the public-housing program, thus leaving over 92 percent of the grand total to be provided by private enterprise. In addition, by express provision in S. 866 the public-housing program is not only limited to the area which private enterprise cannot and does not serve, but there must be a gap of 20 percent left between the lowest income levels being served by private enterprise and the income levels being served by public housing. Moreover, the annual amount of housing which the bill contemplates that private enterprise should be encouraged to construct is about four times as much housing per year as private enterprise built on the average in the last 10 years before the war.

I sincerely hope that Senators will vote down the amendment to strike from the bill title VI which deals with public housing. The bill as a whole is well rounded and will go far toward providing decent homes for all segments of our society.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I want to do everything I can to bring this matter to an early vote. For that reason I am going to talk but a very few moments. I wish I had time to talk at length regarding the motion, because I think it strikes at the very heart of an adequate housing program. I want to make my position clear as being strongly in opposition to the motion that has been made by the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] to strike out title VI of the pending bill.

Mr. President, I have followed the arguments against this program all the way through. I am a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency, which has considered the legislation. I was also a member of the Joint Committee on Housing that studied the housing conditions in all parts of the country. Title VI, as carried in the bill, is in keeping with the recommendation of the Banking and Currency Committee and also the recommendation of the Joint Committee on Housing, which was made on the basis of exhaustive studies throughout the country.

I notice the argument has been made and is being made that there are only 500,000 units to be constructed within a period of 5 years, and that that is simply a scratching of the surface. Of course, that is true. It is realized that it does not eliminate slum housing, and it does not take care of all of those in the low-income group who must have help if they are to have decent places in which to live. But, Mr. President, my memory goes back to the time in 1937 when we passed the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. I was a Member of the House of Representatives at that time, and exactly the same argument was presented against that measure. I remember it was said that the amount of money we were providing would take care of an average of only one farm tenant purchase in each of the 3,000 counties of the United States. The argument was made that for this reason we ought to go into the program. However, we went into it, and I have noticed this: In the congressional district I represented for 10 years, there was in 1937 an average farm tenancy of 65 percent. Today that has dropped to about 40 percent. I do not mean that the Farm Tenant Purchase Act has been the sole cause, but it set in motion a program that has had that result. We may expect the same to be true if we make even a modest beginning on a housing program of this kind.

I believe the country wants and expects from Congress an adequate housing program. Practically all groups favor the regular FHA. Most of them are in favor of 90 percent insurance of loans for veterans' housing. Most of them are in favor of practically every feature of the pending bill, with the exception of this one feature of housing for families with low incomes.

We are making provision in the bill for those who can buy or build their own

homes, and for those who can pay a proper rental. But, with respect to the one-third, or whatever the fraction may be, of our population that simply cannot provide enough rental for decent living accommodations, the only place we are taking care of them is in title VI which the pending motion would strike out of the bill. If that is done, it simply means that one great segment of our population will be given no relief whatever in regard to housing.

I do not believe we can have an adequate housing program without this provision. I wish I had time to review briefly the manner in which public-housing projects are set up. They are not imposed from Washington. One of them may not be set up unless authorized by the State legislature. Even then, it may not be established unless the city sets up a local board for such housing. The program is administered by local people. I wish Senators would think back to the local communities in their own cities, of the people who make up those boards. I wish I had time to review the matter.

Mr. President, I regret that I do not have time to talk further about the housing plan, but I am eager to bring the matter to a vote. Therefore I shall conclude with the few words I have spoken today, simply expressing the hope and urging that the Senate may vote down the pending motion, thereby making it possible for us to have a well-rounded and adequate housing program for all the people.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SPARKMAN. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. BARKLEY. I wish to associate myself wholeheartedly with the position taken by the Senator from Alabama in favor of the pending legislation and in opposition to elimination of the only provision in it that really does anything at all for the low-income groups of the United States.

I wish also to express my appreciation to the Senator from Alabama for his devotion to duty in abandoning his personal interest in Alabama in the midst of a campaign to come here and express himself and put himself on record in favor of this legislation. I congratulate him upon his compelling speech and upon his fine devotion to public service for which he is noted not only in the committee but here in the Senate. He has done so much to promote this legislation and to make certain that its benefits go to all classes of the American people.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am certainly indebted to the Senator from Kentucky.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment proposed by the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] to strike out title VI, as modified, from the amendment of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] as amended.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. WHERRY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Hickenlooper	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hill	O'Daniel
Ball	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Barkley	Holland	Overton
Brewster	Ives	Pepper
Bricker	Jenner	Robertson, Va.
Bridges	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson, Wyo.
Brooks	Johnston, S. C.	Russell
Butler	Kem	Saltonstall
Byrd	Kilgore	Smith
Cain	Knowland	Sparkman
Capehart	Langer	Stennis
Capper	Lodge	Stewart
Chavez	Lucas	Taylor
Cordon	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Donnell	McCarthy	Thye
Downey	McClellan	Tobey
Dworshak	McFarland	Tydings
Eastland	McGrath	Umstead
Eaton	McKellar	Vandenberg
Ellender	McMahon	Watkins
Ferguson	Magnuson	Wherry
Flanders	Martin	White
Fulbright	Maybank	Wiley
George	Millikin	Williams
Green	Moore	Wilson
Gurney	Morse	Young
Hatch	Murray	
Hayden	Myers	

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK] is absent on official business.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] to strike out title VI of the Taft amendment, as amended. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WILLIAMS (when his name was called). On this vote I am paired with the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT]. If he were present and permitted to vote, the Senator from Ohio would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "yea."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business. If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky would vote "nay."

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK], who is absent on official business, is paired with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. If present and voting the Senator from Delaware would vote "yea," and the Senator from New York would vote "nay."

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES] is necessarily absent. If present and voting, the Senator from New Jersey would vote "yea."

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], who is necessarily absent, is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nevada would vote "yea," and the Senator from Utah would vote "nay."

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. BUSHFIELD] is unavoidably detained. If

present and voting, the Senator from South Dakota would vote "yea."

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED] are detained on official committee business.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS], who is absent on public business, is paired with the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE]. If present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "nay," and the Senator from Nevada would vote "yea."

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], who is necessarily absent, is paired with the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK]. If present and voting, the Senator from New York would vote "nay," and the Senator from Delaware would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 35, nays 49, as follows:

YEAS—35		
Bricker	Holland	O'Daniel
Butler	Jenner	Overton
Byrd	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson, Va.
Cain	Kem	Robertson, Wyo.
Capehart	McCarthy	Stennis
Dworschak	McClellan	Stewart
Eastland	McFarland	Tydings
Ecton	McKellar	Umstead
George	Martin	Wherry
Gurney	Millikin	Wiley
Hickenlooper	Moore	Wilson
Hoey	O'Connor	

NAYS—49		
Aiken	Hatch	Myers
Baldwin	Hayden	O'Mahoney
Ball	Hill	Pepper
Barkley	Ives	Russell
Brewster	Johnson, Colo.	Saltonstall
Bridges	Kilgore	Smith
Brooks	Knowland	Sparkman
Capper	Langer	Taylor
Chavez	Lodge	Thomas, Okla.
Cordon	Lucas	Thye
Donnell	McCarran	Tobey
Downey	McGrath	Vandenberg
Ellender	McMahon	Watkins
Ferguson	Magnuson	White
Flanders	Maybank	Young
Fulbright	Morse	
Green	Murray	

NOT VOTING—12		
Buck	Hawkes	Taft
Bushfield	Malone	Thomas, Utah
Connally	Reed	Wagner
Cooper	Revercomb	Williams

So Mr. CAIN's motion to strike out title VI of the Taft amendment, as amended, was rejected.

MEMORIAL EXERCISES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the terms of Senate Resolution 212, the hour has arrived for holding memorial services for deceased Senators.

INVOCATION

Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D., pastor, Gunton-Temple Memorial Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following invocation:

Almighty God, with a humble spirit and a contrite heart we call upon Thy great and holy name. In the life of each of us there are times when all our feelings seem to impose silence.

Grant that in this hour of sacred memory we may enter into a blessed communion with Thy Spirit, and the spirit of all upon whom Thou hast bestowed the glorious benediction, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant,

enter thou into the joy of Thy Lord."

Hear us for the sake of the Christ, our Saviour. Amen.

Solo, There Is No Death—O'Hara—by Robert C. Nicholson, baritone, Wesley Methodist Church, Washington, D. C., accompanied on the piano by William Watkins, organist, New York Avenue Presbyterian Church.

THERE IS NO DEATH

I tell you they have not died,
They live and breathe with you,
They walk now here at your side,
They tell you things are true.
Why dream of popped seed
When you can feel their breath,
When flower and soul and God
Know there is no death?

I tell you they have not died,
Their hands clasp yours and mine,
They are but glorified,
They have become divine.
They live, they know, they see!
They shout with every breath:
"All is eternal life;
"There is no death!"

SCRIPTURE READING

Dr. BRASKAMP. The Scripture readings are taken from the Old and New Testaments.

Psalms 85: "I will hear what God the Lord will say, for He will speak peace unto His people and to His saints."

Psalms 90: "Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place in all generations.

"Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou art God.

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

Then from the New Testament these gracious words which were spoken by our blessed Lord:

John 14: "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.

"In my Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

"And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto Myself, that where I am there ye may be also.

"Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid."

In St. Paul's great chapter on the resurrection, the fifteenth of First Corinthians, we find these words:

"Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.

"For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.

"For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

"Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

PRAYER BY DR. BRASKAMP

Most merciful and gracious God, the God of our fathers and of their succeeding generations, through Thy holy word Thou hast spoken and in our hearts Thy voice is heard.

Thou art the author and disposer of human life, from whom our spirits have come and unto whom they return.

We thank Thee for Thy servants who walked and worked with us for a little while upon this earth and who now are with Thee in heavenly blessedness, having received, as the reward of their faith and their fidelity, the salvation of their souls.

We rejoice that whatever was noble and beautiful in their life, in Thy sight and in our sight, abides forever. We bless Thee for the glorious testimony that they sought to serve their generation according to Thy holy will and were numbered among those who do justly, who love mercy, and who walk humbly with the Lord. We have not said "farewell" but only "good night," hoping on some blessed morn to meet and dwell with them in hallowed union in that land whose language is music and where joys are unceasing.

Grant unto the sorrowing and the lonely the consolation of Thy grace. May they yield themselves without murmur or complaint to the dispensations of Thy providence for Thou dost give and Thou dost take away, and blessed is Thy name forevermore. Help them to lay hold of the peace and the eternal companionship of the Christ.

We pray that Thou wilt continue to bless our Nation, our President, and all who hold positions of leadership and responsibility in the affairs of government. May we be a Nation whose God is the Lord. We are not asking Thee to deal with us in any preferential manner. We are not praying that Thou wilt make our beloved country a comfortable lotus land. May we be loyal partners with all who are laboring to build the kingdom of justice and righteousness, the social order in which there shall be peace and good will among men. Enable us to carry on in faith, in faithfulness, and in the fear of the Lord as we daily meet the problems and tasks which challenge the consecration of our noblest manhood.

To Thy name we ascribe all the praise. Amen.

ROLL OF DECEASED SENATORS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chief Clerk will call the roll of the Members of the Senate who have passed to the Great Beyond.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

JAMES GRAVES SCRUGHAM, a Senator from the State of Nevada, born January 19, 1880; graduated from the University of Kentucky, receiving bachelor and master degrees in engineering; Governor of Nevada, 1923-27; editor and publisher of the Nevada State Journal, 1927-32; served as State engineer, 1919-23; United States Army 1917-18; one of the incorporators of the American Legion, 1919; commander of the Nevada Department, American Legion, 1919; and national vice commander 1920-21; elected to the Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, Seventy-fifth, Seventy-sixth, and Seventy-seventh Congresses; elected United States Senator November 3, 1942, to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Key Pittman ending January 3, 1947. Died June 23, 1945.

HIRAM WARREN JOHNSON, a Senator from the State of California, born September 2, 1866; educated in the public schools of Sacramento and University of California; by profession, lawyer; elected Governor of California in 1910; reelected Governor in 1914; elected United States Senator in 1916, 1922, 1928, 1934, and 1940; died August 6, 1945.

JOHN THOMAS, a Senator from the State of Idaho; born January 4, 1874; engaged in livestock business; served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee of Idaho for 4 years; was member of the Republican National Committee two terms; was appointed to the Senate June 30, 1928, and elected November 6, 1928, to succeed Senator Frank R. Gooding, deceased, for the term ending March 3, 1933; again appointed to the Senate January 27, 1940, to succeed Senator William E. Borah, deceased, to serve until the next general election, when he was elected to fill balance of Senator Borah's unexpired term ending January 3, 1943; re-elected November 3, 1942, for the term ending January 3, 1949. Died November 10, 1945.

CARTER GLASS, a Senator from the State of Virginia; born January 4, 1858, printer; reporter; editor; publisher; student of private and public schools; member, board of visitors, University of Virginia, 1898-1906; member State senate, 1899-1903; delegate, State constitutional convention, 1901; Member, House of Representatives, Fifty-seventh to Sixty-fifth Congresses; Secretary of the Treasury in President Wilson's Cabinet; declined reappointment by President Franklin D. Roosevelt; Member of the United States Senate, under appointment and election from February 2, 1920; died May 28, 1946.

JOHN HOLLIS BANKHEAD 2d, a Senator from the State of Alabama; born, July 8, 1872; lawyer; graduate, University of Alabama, 1891, and Georgetown University, 1893; major, Alabama National Guard, 1901-3; member, State house of representatives, 1904-5; trustee, University of Alabama, 1917-19 and 1931-46; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died, June 12, 1946.

CHARLES OSCAR ANDREWS, a Senator from the State of Florida; born, March 7, 1877; soldier; lawyer; judge; attended South Florida Military Institute; graduate, State normal school, 1901, and University of Florida, 1907; captain, National Guard, Spanish-American War; secretary, State senate, 1905-7 and 1909-11; judge of the criminal court of record, Walton County, 1910-11; assistant attorney general, 1912-19; circuit judge, seventeenth judicial circuit, 1919-25; member, State house of representatives, 1927; city attorney, Orlando, 1926-29; State supreme court commissioner, 1929-32; elected United States Senator, 1936 and 1940; died, September 18, 1946.

JOSIAH WILLIAM BAILEY, a Senator from the State of North Carolina; born, September 14, 1873; editor; lawyer; attended Raleigh Academy; graduate, Wake Forest College, 1893; editor, Biblical Recorder, 1893-1907; member, State board of agriculture, 1896-1900; Presidential elector, 1908; collector of internal revenue, 1913-21; member, constitutional commission, 1915; trustee, University of North Carolina, 1930; elected United States Senator, 1930, 1936, and 1942; died, December 15, 1946.

THEODORE GILMORE BILEO, a Senator from the State of Mississippi; born, October 13, 1877; attended Peabody College at Nashville, Tenn.; Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; and the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor; lawyer and farmer; member of the State senate, 1908-12; served as Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi, 1912-16, and as Governor, 1916-20 and 1928-32; elected United States Senator, 1934, 1940, and 1946; died, August 21, 1947.

ADDRESS BY HON. C. WAYLAND BROOKS, A
SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Brooks].

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, memorial services are traditional in America. There are many ways of conducting them. But this service is indeed unique.

We are honored to participate as representatives of the 48 States of the Union

as we meet by our own resolve to pay tribute to the lives, the works, and the memory of our former associates and colleagues who have answered the roll call of eternity.

While we do this by our own motion, in a truer sense we do so under the influence of feelings in which the whole family of Americans unites with us.

While we pay our humble tribute to the revered memory of these former members, colleagues, and associates, as individuals we pay special tribute to their endeavors and their contributions to the preservation of our Republic and the advancement of human rights under our form of government.

Progress is not automatic; the world grows better because people wish that it should and because they take the right steps to make it better.

In this forum—this truly deliberative body—these men came representing their various States and constituencies to participate and play their full part in hammering out on the anvil of consultation and public debate the legislative enactments that would help steer our ship of state ever onward and forward to fulfill its destiny among the governments of the earth.

In this all important and arduous task they gave their all and at the end of their life's endeavor, standing at the top of the ladder, they handed on to us our great responsibility and stepped across the great divide.

By those who knew each of them intimately and well, no doubt an individual tribute could be paid that would live as a bit of romantic literature, but I was a junior in this honored body when most of them had passed on life's highway that stone which marked the highest point. They had climbed the heights and left petty superstitions far below, while on their foreheads fell the golden dawning of a grander day.

Coinciding with the glorious history of our beloved country is the history of the Senate of the United States. Each page of that history records the endeavor, accomplishments, and occasionally the death of an illustrious man. Each era has been both important and strenuous, but in my humble judgment no period in all our history has been more exacting and demanding of human energy than the short span of years in which these honored representatives of their respective States actually laid their lives on the altar of service to their State and Nation.

These men with their varying viewpoints, with their peculiar backgrounds of education, interests, and training, representing their particular political philosophies, made their magnificent individual contributions to the inspiration, courage, and strength of present day America.

These honored men carried into this forum their talents of determination representing the varying views that not only occasioned the birth of our beloved country, but guarantees its future existence not only as a free country for Americans, but the hope of the freedom-loving people of the entire world.

Throughout their lifetime, countless individuals were the beneficiaries of their

works, and America is likewise the real beneficiary of their good deeds. On such an occasion, I labor only for words to do justice to your feelings and mine.

Words of any one individual are inadequate to fully express on an occasion of this kind the thoughts and emotions many may feel. Each of us in varying degrees learned to know and respect the individuals whose memory we honor today. With this fully in mind may it not be said that we, the members of the Senate of the United States who are assembled here today, cherish and honor the memory of our colleagues who have gone to meet their Maker.

They left us singly and in the sad succession appointed by the order of nature; but having lived, acted, and counseled with us, we honor them together today.

During their long careers of duty, forgetting the little that had divided them, and cherishing the great communion of service, they walked in honorable friendship the declining pathway of age.

No martial music, no blare of trumpets, no great parade, summoned these men either to their outstanding service or to their graves, but they were fighters just the same for the cause they represented. Each, in his own way, was a champion of the cause he believed best for his country.

We respect them for their undaunted courage, the energy and devotion with which they marched along the long rugged road of duty.

We miss them, but we know that while they no longer answer the roll call in this historic Chamber, they answer that longer roll call that contains the names of heroic men who served and died that America might be and continue to be a Government of free men devoted to liberty, to justice, and to God.

Solo, Beautiful Isle of Somewhere—
Ferris—by Robert C. Nicholson, accompanied at the piano by William Watkins.

BEAUTIFUL ISLE OF SOMEWHERE

Somewhere the sun is shining,
Somewhere the songbirds dwell.
Hush then thy sad repining,
God lives and all is well.

Somewhere the day is longer,
Somewhere the task is done.
Somewhere the heart is stronger,
Somewhere the gerdon won.

Somewhere the load is lifted,
Close by an open gate.
Somewhere the clouds are rifted,
Somewhere the angels wait.

(Chorus)

Somewhere, somewhere, beautiful isle of
somewhere.

Land of the true, where we live anew,
Beautiful isle of somewhere!

ADDRESS BY HON. CLYDE R. HOEY, A SENATOR
FROM THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Hoey].

Mr. HOEY. Mr. President, life is real and likewise mystical. The high estate of man's creation makes him a little lower than the angels and gives him dominion over all other created and elemental things. He is the inheritor of all the past ages. From the dusty pages of antiquity the progress of man has been illuminating the processes of life

over the long centuries. Into the real life of today has been projected the mystical life of tomorrow. Immortality begins on earth. The struggle of man has been to build an enduring civilization here and to adorn it with the revealed and discovered truths of God. The search of man has been for truth, and in his quest for its attainment he has mastered much of the universe and made it subservient to his imperial will.

The majestic passages in the first chapter of Genesis describing the origin of man stamp him with the image of his Creator and crown him with honor and glory, and then the stately steppings of that graphic portrayal of his possibilities accord to him unquestioned dominion over the fowls of the air, the beasts of the field, and the fish of the sea, including all things passing through the paths of the sea. Man has marvelously attained this dominion and fulfilled this prophecy. He has gone deeper down into the sea than any fish has dared to go. He has soared higher into the air than the eagle, the king of birds, has been able to ascend—and he has gone into the stratosphere to join the celestial bodies as they float out through illimitable space.

Man speaks and his voice can be heard around the world, whereas the explosions of nature can be heard for only a few hundred miles, at best. The hurricane roars across the surface of the earth at 150 miles an hour, but man speeds along at 400 miles an hour and travels through space in a ship of his own creation at 800 to 1,000 miles an hour. Man measures the distance of the sun, moon, and stars, and counts and measures the circumference of the constellations in the sky. When Halley's comet skirts across our horizon at a terrific rate of speed, man calculates within a few seconds the time when that swift traveler will return after it has rambled through unexplored space along its charted course for 75 years.

Man has only recently split the atom and released the force and power of the universe. But the atom is not dangerous. Only man is dangerous.

But there is appointed a time for man to die. There is something majestic about death. Its very universality makes it a dreaded visitor in the homes of kings and subjects, presidents and citizens, rich and poor, white and colored, around the whole world. It levels all rank and makes a common denominator of all men. Sickness and death are not the tragedies of life; they are only the sadnesses. The age-old question propounded in the Book of Job, "If a man die, shall he live again," is affirmatively answered by the faith of man in immortality, and all nature shares that faith as it experiences a beautiful resurrection each springtime from the death of winter.

Edmund Burke said that civilization was a covenant between the dead, the living, and the unborn. What do we mean by civilization? It encompasses everything. The fields and farms, the factories and shops, the business houses and homes, the skyscrapers and humble cottages, the railroads, automobiles, and airplanes, the telephones, telegraph and

radios, the churches, synagogues and cathedrals, the schools, colleges, and universities, the games, sports, and recreational centers, the graveyards, cemeteries, and mausoleums—all of these and more constitute American civilization.

Deep in the consciousness of our civilization is the stalwart figure of the early settler and pioneer who came to our shores seeking liberty and freedom, and who dared to visualize a land where a man could worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and where none could molest or make him afraid. It also embraces the daring conception of a government where all power is lodged in the aggregate assembly of free men and women and where government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Our honored dead have given us this civilization, and our loved colleagues belonged to that immortal company of men and women who through the years labored intelligently and painstakingly to perfect this structure of a democracy that might endure and vouchsafe to us who live today, and to the unborn of tomorrow, the blessings of liberty and freedom and the benign influences of justice and righteousness in government and among men.

Civilization also encompasses the indescribably sacred picture of a mother bending over the bed of her offspring at eventide to hear it lisp the name of God in the simple prayer of childhood, "Now I lay me down to sleep."

The supreme sacrifice by which men die for their country and fellow men becomes a part of our civilization. In all wars, and particularly in the recent one, heroic souls have joined the immortals of earth in selfless death that liberty might endure and that peace might be possible. Only one illustration shall suffice. When one of our oil tankers was torpedoed in the Pacific and the commanding officer and his crew escaped the flaming boat, it appeared that the lifeboats were overloaded, whereupon the gallant lieutenant said, "We must leave the lifeboats for the injured," and immediately dived overboard into the surging sea, followed by 15 of his heroic men. Only 3 of them were ever seen again. They were swallowed up by the angry waves, and they had only the ocean for a sepulchre; but they left a trail of glory that time cannot efface.

At the same time a pharmacist mate administered tannic acid to the deep burns of the injured men to prevent their flesh from flecking off, and then visited another boat for the same purpose, and while swimming to a third boat became exhausted and went down, never to come up again; but there was the dew of immortality upon his brow and the radiance of heaven illuminating his watery grave.

Our illustrious colleagues in whose honor we assemble today belong in the category of those who served during those days of stress and crises, and they are among the casualties of war. They died gloriously in the service of their country. Eight of our comrades have passed away since the close of the war. They participated in the debates on the momentous issues determined in this greatest world forum of thought and ac-

tion. They had a share in all of the history-making legislation enacted preceding and during the war years. They gave unstintingly of their time and efforts in behalf of our victory at arms and in furtherance of the cause of peace. We pause today to pay homage to their memories. Their colleagues who survive and still serve here will pay just tribute by the written word to them individually and thus preserve for posterity a record of their illustrious service and achievements. The youngest died in his 65th year and the oldest had passed his 88th milestone. Reasonably long life was vouchsafed to each of them ere the "silver cord was loosed or the golden bowl broken." In saluting their memory, I feel that they were able to join Byron in telling Death, that omnipotent tyrant, to his everlasting face that he possessed no sting, and in challenging the grave, his sleepless handmaiden, to dare proclaim a victory. May God rest their souls.

The high obligation of this hour remains with us who still live and serve here to preserve the heritage of our civilization for the benefit of those now living and for the unborn to follow after us. The days may be dark and the future clouded with many unhappy prospects; but if we are worthy of those who have gone before, we shall not falter in meeting the responsibilities of the times and underwriting the guaranties of liberty, freedom, and peace for the tomorrows.

These days call for high thinking, noble action, and unselfish dedication to the ideals of the Republic and to the spiritual verities which shall always be a source of strength and power in every crisis. It is well to remember that there has never been a night dark enough to put out the stars and that amid all the confusion, strife, and chaos extant in the earth, still this is my Father's world. Speaking of this atomic age, Walter Lippmann recently said, "Now the whole structure of our intellectual life must undergo a cleansing and reformation." Winston Churchill said about the same time, "Man must have a new heart." The great prophet Isaiah offered the solution more than 2,500 years ago when he wrote:

They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint.

Everything is not gloom and pessimism. War is not inevitable, peace is not impossible. There is more of human sympathy than the world has known before, and divine compassion is as inexhaustible as the measure of God's love. America has opened wide her heart and delved deep into her treasure to relieve the suffering and want of the hungry and starving of the world—both friend and foe.

We have in a practical way voiced our concern for the devastated nations of earth, and we have known no race or clime. Our American ideals have found expression in the fullness of our generosity and the breadth of our sympathy at home and abroad. All faiths and creeds give expression in song and story to our conception of the universality of

the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God.

It was a Catholic who wrote, *Lead Kindly Light*; it was a Baptist who wrote, "Amazing Grace, how sweet the sound, that saved a wretch like me"; it was a Presbyterian who wrote, "Rock of Ages, cleft for me, let me hide myself in thee"; it was Martin Luther, the founder of the Lutheran Church, who wrote, "A mighty fortress is our God, a bulwark never failing"; it was a Methodist who wrote, "Jesus, lover of my soul, let me to thy bosom fly, while the nearer waters roll, while the tempest still is high"; it was an Episcopalian, a follower of the Church of England, who wrote, "All hail the power of Jesus' name! Let angels prostrate fall; bring forth the royal diadem, and crown Him Lord of all"; it was a Jew who wrote:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures;
he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.

Thus speaking the universal language of mankind, voicing the hopes and the aspirations of the human heart.

"Our fathers' God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing:
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King."

TAPS

Sgt. Chris G. Stergiou, United States Marine Corps.

BENEDICTION

Dr. Braskamp pronounced the following benediction:

"The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift upon you His countenance and give you peace." Amen.

ADJOURNMENT

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the terms of Senate Resolution 212, as a further mark of respect to the memories of the deceased Senators, the Senate stands adjourned until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 3 o'clock and 45 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 22, 1948, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 21 (legislative day of March 29), 1948:

CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

Russell B. Adams, of West Virginia, to be a member of the Civil Aeronautics Board for the remainder of the term expiring December 31, 1950.

IN THE NAVY

Capt. William M. Angas, CEC, United States Navy, for temporary and permanent appoint-

ment to the grade of rear admiral in the Civil Engineer Corps of the Navy.

Capt. Andrew G. Bisset, CEC, United States Navy, for temporary appointment to the grade of rear admiral in the Civil Engineer Corps of the Navy.

IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named permanent warrant officers, now serving in temporary commissioned ranks, to be permanent commissioned warrant officers in the Marine Corps, to rank with but after second lieutenants:

Philip J. Costello	John W. Mace
Harry E. Detwiler	Clarence B. McKinstry
Hubert H. Dunlap	Edwin C. Reppenhagen
Roy L. Green	Percy W. Robbins
Roy E. Hagerdon	Charles Sells
Edgar C. Hughes	Reuben S. Stoner
John G. Johnson	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1948

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our blessed Father in Heaven, Thou who art the light of every heart that sees Thee and the life of every soul that loves Thee, keep us steadfast and daring in the things that we seek to do. Though pressed with thronging duties, we would never fail to honor our country with rectitude and personal integrity. We pray Thee to strengthen those who are weak and lift up the heads of those who are overburdened. Give us courage in all that is good, with aversion for all that is evil. As with clear vision and earnest purpose we stand looking into the future, make us ready for its duties and obligations, with a greater hunger for those virtues that will lift us to the highest plane of public service. For the sake of Thy dear Son our Saviour. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate, having proceeded to reconsider the bill (H. R. 5052) "An act to exclude certain vendors of newspapers or magazines from certain provisions of the Social Security Act and Internal Revenue Code," returned by the President of the United States with his objections, to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, and passed by the House of Representatives on reconsideration of the same, it was

Resolved, That the said bill pass, two-thirds of the Senators present having voted in the affirmative.

THE PALESTINE SITUATION

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday Warren Austin, our representative on the United Nations

Council, said that the United States is willing to send troops to Palestine if other nations will join us. I want to call his attention, the President, and State Department to the fact that before such promises are made they should talk to the Congress of the United States. In the Seventy-ninth Congress we passed Public Law 264. It authorizes the President to make agreements with the Security Council for the purpose of furnishing armed forces to maintain peace and security, yet by that law he is specifically required to secure the approval of Congress by appropriate act or joint resolution. This is the second time, Mr. Speaker, I have called attention to this matter. I think we should keep on calling attention to it until we are sure that the representatives on the United Nations Council are aware of the law and comply with it. The use of armed forces in Palestine will lead to war, and there is no justification for it.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MERROW asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include certain articles.

Mr. McCOWEN (at the request of Mr. BREHM) was granted permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. WADSWORTH asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial from the Washington Post, issue of April 19, 1948, in relation to the women's status bill.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Monday next, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and any other special orders heretofore entered, I may address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW]?

There was no objection.

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. DEVITT] may address the House today at the close of legislative business and any other special orders for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

WALTER REUTHER

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the vicious, behind-the-back

shotgun assault on the labor leader, Walter Reuther, last night was indeed shocking. Reuther has become the leader in the fight in the CIO-UAW against Communist leadership in that union. Reuther is in the vanguard of that labor fight to rid trade-unionism of communistic influence in the United States. He has been conducting a successful fight. While the police have not as yet captured the assailant nor uncovered the origin of the plot that was obviously aimed at Reuther's life, it would not be surprising, indeed, if it were disclosed to have had its origin among the Communist elements he has so vigorously opposed. This would not be inconsistent with the pattern of Communist activity throughout the world in its attempt to take over trade-unions by treachery, deceit, and even murder, if necessary. It would not be inconsistent, for example, with the high-handed retention of power by the leftist Communist group that for so many years dominated the Allis-Chalmers UAW-CIO local in my own city of Milwaukee, and which now has been broken.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

THE OIL SHORTAGE SITUATION

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED]?

There was no objection.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, what are we going to do about the critical oil shortage in this country? It is steadily growing worse.

At the same time, Congress is being asked to increase our Air Force, and I am for that measure, designed to strengthen our defense.

But, what will happen if we run out of oil?

Yet, we now hear that under the ERP the United States are down for an export of 21,700,000 metric tons of petroleum products over the next 15 months. The cost in dollars and cents is \$479,400,000. I trust the Appropriations Committee will look into the matter of financing.

Personally, I am much more worried about the effect of this export of American oil on our strategic and economic security. Why export American oil in the amount of \$130,500,000 to oil-rich Britain? Why burden the bankrupt economy of the United Kingdom with dollar oil?

Or has the administration forgotten what the greatest English newspaper, the Daily Express, had to say about this American oil, under the ERP:

Petroleum is an immense item under the plan. But all Britain's needs for motor spirit, lubricating oil, and all the other products of petroleum can be met in our own oil fields lying within the sterling area. There is no need whatever to maintain this disastrous dependence on dollar oil.

Mr. Speaker, England does not need dollar oil. In the interest of American security and for the welfare of the Brit-

ish people, I suggest that the Appropriations Committee immediately take steps to save this \$130,500,000 worth of American oil.

We need that oil right here.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JAVITS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD in two separate instances.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an article of his which was published in the Liberty magazine entitled "Reds in Panama."

Mr. ROGERS of Florida asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a recent radio broadcast.

Mr. WILLIAMS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. PHILBIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include certain excerpts.

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House may sit this afternoon on the bill H. R. 6263 and related subjects, notwithstanding that the House may be in session.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

COMMEMORATION OF POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that 1 hour be set aside on Monday, May 3, following the conclusion of the regular business of the day, for the commemoration of Polish Constitution Day, and that the time may be equally divided between the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GORSKI] and myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

FINANCING THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, the amount of propaganda now coming to the offices of the members on the World Health Organization is just about as great as it was when we had ERP before us. I believe a lot of us have learned our lesson. I want to reply to those people in a manner that is proper and fitting.

The situation is that this country with its 140,000,000 people, is paying 49 percent of the cost of this world-wide organization where the other nations with their more than 2,000,000,000 of people are taking care of the other 51 percent.

It is just out of proportion to our population and ability to pay.

I bring to your attention the remarks of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HARNESS] on the World Health Organization. These are excerpts taken from an address he delivered before the Northern Tri-State Medical Association, at Findlay, Ohio, on April 13, 1948. The gentleman from Indiana makes certain statements that should be heeded by every Member of Congress and by the people of this country. Do not assume any more obligations than we can assume or any more world obligations, however worthy they may be.

REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE FOREST A. HARNESS, REPUBLICAN, OF INDIANA, ON THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, TAKEN FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY HIM BEFORE THE NORTHERN TRI-STATE MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, AT FINDLAY, OHIO, APRIL 13, 1948

There is now pending before the Congress legislation that would make the United States a member of the World Health Organization. This measure has been passed by the Senate, and approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. A few days ago, this bill came before the House Rules Committee, of which I am a member.

Twenty-four nations, including Russia, have indicated their willingness to join this World Health Organization. The announced purposes and objectives of the plan are entirely praiseworthy. Indeed, I am sure every right-thinking member of your profession endorses them. But experience proves that there is all the difference in the world between a theoretical ideal and its practical application, particularly at the hands of government bureaucracy. The record, as we (the Committee on Publicity and Propaganda) have disclosed it, proves that our medical bureaucracy as it is now constituted, is constantly carrying the ball for State health insurance—not merely here at home, but wherever it may exercise influence throughout the world. It is by no means impossible, therefore, that it would find a World Health Organization a very effective vehicle to promote the very program you are vigorously opposing here at home.

But there is still another consideration. This organization would cost us an initial investment of \$3,000,000 for the first year. The cost undoubtedly would become bigger as time goes on. Now, \$3,000,000 is not a tremendous sum as things are nowadays, but just stop and think for a moment. According to an official publication of the State Department, the United States has participated in, or is likely to be concerned in 216 international organizations, 38 of them concerned with social health problems.

The State Department's list includes such groups as the Inter-American Statistical Institute, the International Wheat Council, the Rubber Study Group, the Central Bureau of the International Map of the World on the Millionth Scale, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, the International Seed Testing Organization, and so on. And we foot most of the bill. Our contributions to the cost of these international organizations run as high as 70 percent, with all the other member nations splitting up the remaining 30 percent between them. Of the total cost of UNRRA, we paid out 72 percent. We have just created the European recovery program at the staggering cost, for the first year, of \$6,000,000,000.

We simply must stop this trend somewhere. Certainly, we shall expect our Economic Cooperation Administration to contribute toward world health in a direct and effective way. We may properly ask, then, why we should underwrite another agency entirely independent and apart from the main program, which might obligate us to further

large expenditures, or commit us to an international policy which we will not endorse at home. Our committee deemed this a good place to stop and take stock. We feel it is time to determine how much further we can go in joining these international groups where we pay most of the cost. I do not mean to indicate this project has been finally killed, but I do feel we should give it a thorough examination before deciding definitely. It might be the meritorious features of the plan can be handled through some existing agency or group, at less cost.

JOSEPH P. KAMP

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include a statement made by me before the Rules Committee yesterday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to this matter which, in my opinion, deserves the serious consideration of every Member of the House.

It concerns the circumstances which prompted me to introduce House Resolution 495, which would rescind the citation for contempt of Congress against Joseph P. Kamp, vice chairman of the Constitutional Educational League. I call the attention of the Members especially to my reference to one James H. Sheldon, named by the Official Report of the Massachusetts Special Commission To Investigate the Activities of Communist, Fascist, Nazi, and Other Subversive Organizations, where on page 211 Sheldon is named as a "front" for the International Labor Defense which was branded as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" by former Attorney General Biddle. This man Sheldon misused the Anderson committee. My statement before the Rules Committee yesterday, April 20, is as follows:

Mr. Chairman, in recommending the adoption of this House Resolution 495, which I introduced, I want to make it clear that there is no question involved as to whether or not a subpoena of a congressional committee should be obeyed.

There is no question as to whether Mr. Kamp was right or wrong in refusing to comply with the committee's demand for a list of contributors.

There is no question as to whether the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures of 1944 had the right to subpoena the records of the Constitutional Educational League.

There is no question as to the disposition of this matter in the courts. The adoption of this resolution cannot affect the eventual outcome of the case in court one way or another.

The only question to be considered is simply one of justice and fair play.

This resolution is merely an attempt to rectify as much as possible what I believe to be an injustice which resulted from the fact that outsiders managed somehow to inject themselves into the affairs of the so-called Anderson House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, of which I was a member.

This resolution does not bring into question the integrity of the Anderson committee or any member thereof.

However, to ignore or condone the obvious skulduggery perpetrated by outsiders and their improper, if not illegal interference in the affairs of this committee, which I shall detail, would, in any opinion, tend to reflect

on the integrity of the House of Representatives as a whole.

I was moved to sponsor this resolution largely because I believe it to be my duty as a Member of the House of Representatives to see to it that the powers entrusted to the Congress by the people shall not be abused at the instance of special interests of any kind or character.

This resolution is based upon the fact that false information, or at least what I believe to be false information about Mr. Kamp and his organization, was planted with the committee; that some thirty-odd paragraphs of his testimony were deleted from the printed record; that committee exhibits used during his hearings were removed from the committee's files and taken to New York by a person who had no connection with the committee and at least one of these exhibits has never been returned; and that all of these things were done without the knowledge or consent of the committee or any member thereof.

I am confident that if the members of the Anderson committee had been fully acquainted with the facts and circumstances surrounding these incidents at the time of the hearings or immediately thereafter, Mr. Kamp's testimony would have satisfied the committee. I am satisfied that no subpoena would have been issued for his records. There would have been no default and no citation for contempt of Congress would have been voted.

I heard every word of Mr. Kamp's testimony and there was never any question in my mind that, either he or his organization had done anything other than to combat Communism wherever it was to be found. The fact that he had exposed Reds on the Government pay roll and Communist boring-from-within political parties did not seem to me to bring his work within the meaning of political activity which we were empowered to investigate.

Mr. Kamp's testimony satisfied me on that point and there was not one bit of evidence brought before the committee to show that he or his organization had engaged in any activity that could be construed as being political.

Some members of the committee may have been impressed, however, by the introduction of photostats of letters addressed to Mr. Kamp, which he immediately charged had been stolen from his office by an agent of what he termed "an un-American Gestapo."

One letter, on the stationery of the Republican National Committee, dated September 21, 1938—6 years before—(p. 265) stated that the writer was enthusiastic about a certain League newspaper edited by Mr. Kamp. Another letter dated July 10, 1943 (p. 261), more than a year before the hearings, stated that John J. Raskob was hugging to his bosom another of Mr. Kamp's publications. A third letter, from Channing Pollock, dated May 15, 1943 (p. 262)—a year and a half before the hearings—complimented Mr. Kamp for a swell job of writing and said he had brought it to the attention of Herbert Hoover.

Then an undated memorandum was offered in evidence (p. 263). The memorandum consisted of a list of individuals and organizations to whom copies of one of Mr. Kamp's booklets (published the previous year) should be sent.

Mr. Kamp testified: "I would like to make a comment on that. I should like to (p. 264) point out to the committee that although we make a suggestion here that this booklet be sent and that we want to send this booklet to people in twelve categories, there is no political organization of any kind included in the list. We suggest that our literature be sent to editors, special writers, veteran posts, women's organizations, fraternal organizations such as the Junior Order of United American Mechanics, Knights of Columbus, Elks; the heads of all patriotic organizations; the heads of all civic organi-

zations, including chambers of commerce, junior chambers of commerce, boards of trade, together with luncheon clubs, Kiwanis and Rotary; the heads of local units of the A. F. of L. and independent unions; clergymen of all denominations; manufacturers, food processors, merchants, and businessmen and bank officials. Not a politician in the lot."

Significantly, however, this memorandum had written across it, the notation, "Used by Kamp solicitors for fund collection purposes as recently as 1944 (January)" (p. 266).

Mr. Kamp said: "I will comment on that. That is a lie. May I ask who put the note on there?"

Mr. SPARKMAN answered: "I will do the questioning. That note was put on for my own use."

This memorandum with what Mr. Kamp charged was a false notation and the other exhibits had been examined by the various members of the committee. It is possible that some members attached a political significance to the letters mentioning President Hoover and former Democratic Chairman John J. Raskob, plus the ancient laudatory letter from a worker at the Republican National Committee. Most certainly then, the notation "used by Kamp solicitors for fund collection purposes as recently as 1944 (January)" clearly implied their use for political purposes within the period in which the committee was authorized to investigate.

To me the purpose of the notation was only too obvious and since Mr. Sparkman was reluctant to name the person responsible for providing the information, I tried again a little later that morning to find out the source of these exhibits. I asked Mr. Murphy, a member of the committee, about a memorandum he was using. I asked him where it came from. He refused to answer.

During the Kamp hearings, Mr. ANDRESEN and I both asked about data in possession of other members of the committee and were refused information. Mr. ANDRESEN asked specifically if the committee had any evidence that Mr. Kamp or his organization had engaged in political activity.

I am certain that the committee members who refused to disclose information acted in good faith; that they felt justified in protecting their informant by keeping his name in confidence.

I am certain they did not know the real identity nor anything about the subversive background of this individual.

Had the members of the committee known then, as I know now, that this man was a Communist front and that he was acting for the American branch of an international propaganda organization which had been supported in part with Nazi funds, I feel certain there would have been a different outcome of the hearings in respect to the Constitutional Educational League and Mr. Kamp.

Had this information been in the hands of any member of the committee on the day the citation for contempt was being considered, I am positive the committee would not have voted to cite Mr. Kamp.

In a letter to Secretary Anderson, dated February 25, 1947 (which I now show you a signed copy of), Mr. Kamp charged that the exhibits used during his hearings had been turned over to one James H. Sheldon, of New York; that one document which he needed in connection with his trial in the District court was still in Sheldon's possession, and he requested Mr. Anderson to have the document returned to the committee's files so that it could be subpoenaed.

In his reply to Kamp, Secretary Anderson disclaimed any personal dealings with Sheldon, but at the same time made admissions which convince me that Sheldon did supply these exhibits, that the missing exhibit was in his possession, and that Mr. Kamp was correct when he told us that the documents used by the committee had been stolen from his office.

I have here a photostat of Secretary Anderson's letter of March 4, 1947, and I want to read it to you.

Mr. Anderson wrote:

"DEAR MR. KAMP: I have your letter of February 25, which arrived in Washington while I was in California. I know nothing about the memo which you mention. As you know, I was not present during your first examination, and therefore was not familiar with the material presented to you. I have no authority to see that the memorandum is returned to the committee's files. I turned over to the Clerk of the House all the material which I had, including all exhibits. I was never satisfied that the office of the Clerk was being too careful of the material, but I could not be responsible for the way in which other people discharged their duties.

"Mr. Sheldon, of the so-called Anti-Nazi League, did come to Washington several times and did try to provide information for the committee. It became apparent to me that he was a person with a special interest, and I had to say to him that we could not permit him to try to run our work for us and could not have him telling us the subjects upon which we might cross-examine and question people. I know that he had an employee planted in the office of the Committee for Constitutional Government, and it was from that connection that I had an offer to have made available to me for a price all the financial records of that organization. Naturally, I did not attempt to pay that price, as we were trying to get only those things that might properly be developed by cross-examination of witnesses.

"If you are not able to get your document from the House committee I will try again to see if I can get the Clerk of the House to call upon Sheldon for it, but I do want you to realize that I have no authority in these matters when I am no longer chairman of the committee."

I have here a copy of the official report of the Massachusetts Special Commission To Investigate the Activities of Communist, Fascist, Nazi, and other Subversive Organizations. On page 467 is a letter signed by James H. Sheldon inviting people to join with him in organizing the Boston chapter of the American League Against War and Fascism, the largest and most active of the Communist movements which was identified as a subversive Communist front by the Department of Justice.

On page 211 of this same report Sheldon is named as a front for the International Labor Defense which was branded as the legal arm of the Communist Party by former Attorney General Biddle.

I also have here two copies of the printed hearings of the Committee To Investigate Campaign Expenditures of 1944. By comparing them I have verified the fact that some thirty-odd paragraphs are missing from my own copy.

Mr. Kamp tells me that he has written to or talked with various members of the Anderson committee and that none of them know how these paragraphs came to be deleted or who is responsible. He further tells me that at his trial in 1946, the clerk of the Anderson committee testifying under oath said he knew nothing about these deletions.

I also have here a photostat of a letter from Secretary Anderson to Mr. Kamp, dated May 10, 1946, which reads as follows:

"I have your letter of May 2 in which you say that a part of your testimony before my committee has been deleted from the printed record of the hearings. As I was not present when you testified and didn't prepare the transcript of your testimony, I know little or nothing about the whole matter. Therefore, I am in no position to advise you as to who is responsible for the alleged deletion in the printed record."

Let me read for you just a few paragraphs of Mr. Kamp's testimony that are not in

my copy of the printed hearings but which appear in the earlier copy sent to Mr. Kamp.

Mr. Kamp, after explaining that he was reluctant to give the names of contributors to the committee because they might get into the hands of the un-American gestapo and the smear bund, had this to say about Sheldon's chief investigator (p. 304): "Furthermore, one Dorothy Kahn Wurzbarger Kalen, alias Dorothy Waring, alias Mary Gaffney, alias Charlotte Snowden Meade, a spy for the un-American gestapo who was 'Agent 89' on the McCormack-Dickstein staff, is the wife of a former German Army officer decorated with the Iron Cross and, more recently, a Japanese high commissioner and commercial representative for General Semenov, whose military command in Manchukuo became part of the Japanese Army 1 week before Pearl Harbor."

Another deleted item read (p. 304): "We are not even sure that information given to this committee will not find its way into the hands of the Russian OGPU and the Japanese counterpart of the German Gestapo, since the un-American Gestapo has Communist connections and Communist Russia has a friendly compact with Japan."

Another paragraph deleted from my copy reads: "These charges are made under oath. I know that perjury is a major crime and calls for severe punishment. I repeat that every charge is true."

Another significant paragraph which is not in my copy declares: "The charges I have made should be a challenge to every Member of Congress. These charges call for a full-dress joint investigation by the House and Senate. When such an investigation is made, when the smear bund is exposed and discredited and the un-American Gestapo is rendered powerless to harass and invoke reprisals upon patriotic Americans, then, and then only, will it be judicious and desirable to make public the names of those who have cooperated in resisting their machinations to destroy our Republic."

I have checked with Mr. ANDRESEN and find that this part of Mr. Kamp's testimony is also missing from his copy.

I have not checked with the other members of the committee as to whether or not they have complete or deleted copies. That is immaterial.

I do not know whether any member read any testimony or not before voting to cite Mr. Kamp. That also is beside the point.

If this testimony was missing from the printed record of just one member of the committee and whether he had occasion to read the record or not, such testimony was nevertheless unavailable for consideration and a vote to cite for contempt under such circumstances, in my opinion, was improper, if not illegal.

I have used the words "not the legal act" advisedly in this resolution in order to emphasize the serious nature of the injustice that has been done.

As a lawyer I know what withholding evidence can mean in any court proceeding. Whether the information withheld in this case was pertinent or material is beside the point. The fact remains that information was withheld, and at least one material exhibit had been removed from the files and was not in the possession of the committee when the contempt citation was voted.

In cases where a person is convicted and it can be shown that there was abstraction or concealment of evidence, or that a witness was hidden or otherwise kept from testifying, courts quickly set aside the verdict. And a court will not go into the question as to whether or not the evidence or testimony was material to the issue.

It may be contended that the rules of law and evidence in a court of justice do not apply in a quasi-judicial proceeding. I believe they should.

However, the Anderson Committee, in this matter was, in effect, sitting as a jury to decide the fate of Mr. Kamp and to all intents and purposes (with only part of the evidence and part of the facts before it) found this man guilty of having defaulted and being in contempt.

Every scrap of evidence has to be available to a jury—that is the root of a fair trial. It should be no less so with us.

Because of the unusual and extraordinary circumstances involved in this situation, I feel that in order to be fair and just, the same rules as in a court—the same yardstick of justice—should apply especially when a man's and an organization's good names and future usefulness in public service are at stake.

Had the members of the Anderson committee known the identity and communistic background of the man who obviously gave this false information to the committee; had they known of the Red revolutionary activities of the man who stole the letters and memorandum foisted on the committee; and had they known the subversive and even criminal nature of the organization with which these men were connected and into whose possession these committee exhibits were about to be entrusted and that one of them would never be returned, I am certain that there would have been no occasion for any controversy between the committee and Mr. Kamp and, most certainly, there would have been no citation for contempt.

I want to say again, as I said in my opening remarks, passage of this resolution cannot affect the court action in this matter since a verdict has already been rendered in District Court of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Kamp has been found guilty and has been sentenced.

Of course, Mr. Kamp feels that if he had been able to show that outsiders, and particularly a Communist fronter planted false information with the committee, he would have been acquitted.

He was prevented from presenting such evidence at his first trial when the Clerk of the House was unable to comply with the subpoena of the district court for the production of the document which had been removed from the committee's files and which Secretary Anderson has since tried unsuccessfully to have returned to the office of the clerk where it legally belongs. Hence, it was also unavailable to Mr. Kamp for his second trial.

Notwithstanding the guilty verdict, however, Mr. Kamp feels certain that the court of appeals will reverse the judgment in his case.

But, if he should be mistaken about his success on appeal, and if he should have to pay such a price for his fight against communism, then Mr. Kamp should go to jail with the knowledge that he has been vindicated in his charges made before the Anderson committee that subversive outsiders were using the committee for their own purposes.

He should go to jail with the satisfaction of knowing that the citation voted against him was not justified in the light of subsequent disclosures; that the record shows that the Anderson committee unwittingly allowed subversive forces to inject themselves into the affairs of the committee; and that the citation was voted at a time when the members of the committee did not have before them all the facts and evidence.

THE MAN OF THE YEAR

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday Justice T. Alan Goldsborough rendered a history-making decision. He proclaimed to the Nation and to the world that this is a "government of law and not of men"; that no man, even John L. Lewis, nor group of men, is superior and paramount to the sovereign laws of the United States. He announced and proclaimed to the world that no nation can stand by and see its laws violated and court orders disregarded without imperiling the authority by which it exists and the foundation on which it stands.

Justice Goldsborough breathed life into a "nod or a wink or a code" in which either may be used as a synonym of "strike." He applied the brakes on John L. Lewis' bid for anarchy and his defiance of the people of these United States and their Government and his disregard of the national welfare and safety of this Nation in both wartime and peacetime.

He held that this Nation's peace and security were endangered and imperiled when the court's order was ignored and willfully disregarded and that "law would have no meaning if men could evade its provisions and escape its penalties by substituting defiant trickery for compliance."

John L. Lewis has met his match in Justice T. Alan Goldsborough.

When men are picked for rendering outstanding preeminent public service, the name of Justice T. Alan Goldsborough should be placed at the top.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BLOOM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include two separate articles.

Mr. WILSON of Texas asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include two editorials, one from the Dallas Morning News and one from the Dallas Times-Herald of Dallas, Tex.

Mr. COOPER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include certain statements with respect to the accomplishments of the Habana Conference on the International Trade Organization.

Mr. KELLEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a statement by Paul A. Strachan, president, American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, before an examiner of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Mr. KEOGH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances, in one to include an address given by Commissioner John A. O'Donnell and in the other an address by Ambassador Girard.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a statement. I am informed by the Public Printer that this will exceed two pages of the RECORD and will cost \$337.25, but I ask that it be printed notwithstanding that fact.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, notwithstanding the cost, the extension may be made.

There was no objection.

THE SENDING OF UNITED STATES TROOPS TO PALESTINE

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, the daily papers state that the United States has offered through its representative in the United Nations to send troops to Palestine. By whose authority, Mr. Speaker, is such a commitment made? Are not the people of America, through their duly elected representatives, to be consulted before we seek an opportunity to send our boys to die in foreign lands?

I know of no more direct road to war than to send our troops into foreign lands to impose or to deny a form of government on the people without their consent. I for one will have no part in such an undertaking, and I hereby now give notice that no one should rely on any alleged promise to send American troops for this purpose.

I believe in the defense of America and resistance to aggression. I will fight to defend freedom, but I will never kick down the back door of my neighbor's house simply to force my way into a shooting scrap.

TEXAS INDEPENDENCE

Mr. THOMAS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMAS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to call to the attention of the Members of the House that 112 years ago today Texas won her independence from Mexico. That battle was fought on San Jacinto soil, which I have the high honor and privilege of representing.

Today in Texas, in Houston and in San Jacinto, they are celebrating and I may say that the good old feeling that has existed for so many years between Texas and Mexico still exists today. The Mexicans are a great people; they are our friends and we are theirs.

As a part of the celebration, the great protector of the seas, the battleship *Texas*, is being permanently berthed at San Jacinto, while thousands of Texans cheer. Hon. Lloyd Gregory raised the funds to give her this lasting home.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on today, after disposition of matters on the Speaker's desk and at the conclusion of any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

GIVE THE JEWS OF PALESTINE HALF A CHANCE

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, Ambassador Austin at the United Nations, I agree, had no right to make the gratuitous suggestion of sending American troops into the Holy Land.

The Jews do not ask for American troops to go into the Holy Land. They are well able to take care of themselves if given a reasonable chance. Fully fifty or sixty thousand American-Jewish war veterans would be perfectly willing to volunteer to go into the Holy Land in order to preserve intact the Jewish state which is and will continue to be, despite the double-talk of Warren Austin and despite the back-tracking on partition by the United States Government through mistaken notions of the administration presided over by President Truman.

All they want is a fair chance and the means to defend themselves. They wish to be furnished with arms, and that our arms embargo be lifted, and that the blockade around the coast of Palestine, maintained by Great Britain, be dissipated, so that arms can go into the Holy Land into the hands of the Jewish pioneers who are perfectly willing to defend the boundaries of Palestine, and their hearths and homes, and the lives of their loved ones. Arabs procure arms from Britain. Is it expected that the Jews meet Arab onslaughts with bare knuckles? These defenders of Israel are in Palestine as of right. They went there as the result of the Balfour Declaration and the mandate which specifically set aside Palestine to be a national homeland for the Jews. They would set up in Palestine a Jewish national commonwealth. They will defend to the death their homeland, their commonwealth. Our traditional American policy as exemplified by the two political platforms, by presidential proclamations issued by all the Presidents from Wilson down to and including President Truman; as exemplified by two congressional concurrent resolutions in part passed by this House advocating an independent Jewish democratic commonwealth. It is difficult to understand this betrayal by the administration. Partition follows this traditional American policy. The new scheme of Warren Austin, calling for the scuttling of partition traduces this traditional policy.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KEFAUVER (at the request of Mr. JACKSON of Washington) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

OLEOMARGARINE

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, there seems to be much ado all over the country about this world health situation. I do not know any

reason why it does not have as much merit as the Food and Agriculture Organization which is also a part of the United Nations. But I just want to call your attention to the fact that if you are going to follow certain leadership, including our present Department of Agriculture, and the other people who are trying to pass this oleomargarine bill, you are going to have the American people in the same position the New Deal has put the Navajo Indians. The gentleman from Iowa [Mr. JENSEN] called your attention to the fact that they killed all their goats down there in 1933 so that they did not have any protective food. Now the Indians have a high percentage of disease. The Appropriations Committee is now buying a million dollars' worth of goats for the Navajos so they can have protective foods. The fact is that the American people this year are going to have less per capita dairy products and less milk products to consume than ever before in the history of this country. They do not need to get this oleo bill in here to make it any worse. This is a recognized fact. There are three States in the Union—Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin—which produced milk for around \$3.50 a hundred last year. All these other chaps from these other States, that signed this discharge petition, the dairy farmers are receiving for their milk not \$3.50 on an average, but up to 90 percent more, or up to \$6.62 per hundredweight, and they come in here and want to put us out of business. I just say, go home and milk your own cows and quit trying to milk the United States Treasury and quit trying to ruin the dairy industry of the Midwest that is giving the Nation the cheapest milk in the United States and has been so doing for many many years.

The antilivestock attitude of this administration has reduced the sheep numbers by over one-third the past 5 years; hog numbers January 1, 1948, were 40 percent below the January 1, 1943, number; cattle numbers have been reduced 6,000,000 head; and milk-cow numbers are lower today than they were when the New Deal took over 15 years ago.

FORT SUMTER NATIONAL MONUMENT

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings had on yesterday, whereby Senate Joint Resolution 94 was passed, be vacated, in order that I may offer a corrective amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I have talked with the distinguished gentleman from California about this. It is my understanding that this resolution was originally passed by the Senate before the reorganization of the armed services and the phrase "Secretary of War" was used rather than the phrase "Secretary of the Army," and that that is the purpose of the request.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee is correct.

Mr. PRIEST. I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That the Secretary of War is authorized and directed to transfer, without consideration, to the Secretary of the Interior title to the site of the historic structure known as Fort Sumter, situated in Charleston Harbor, Charleston, S. C., together with such buildings and other improvements as are appurtenant to such site.

SEC. 2. The property acquired by the Secretary of the Interior under this joint resolution shall constitute the Fort Sumter National Monument and shall be a public national memorial commemorating historical events at or near Fort Sumter. The Director of the National Park Service under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior shall have the supervision, management, and control of such national monument, and shall maintain and preserve it for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States, subject to the provisions of the act entitled "An act to establish a National Park Service and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916, as amended.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. WELCH: Page 1, line 3, strike out "Secretary of War" and insert in lieu thereof "Secretary of the Army."

The amendment was agreed to.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VAN ZANDT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on two subjects and include newspaper articles.

OLEOMARGARINE

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker—

The moving finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on; nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all you tears wash out one word of it.

The Members of this House have by 218 signatures brought the margarine bill to the floor of the House. Two hundred and eighteen Members cannot be wrong. The House has selected the leadership to guide in the fight between the dairy trusts and the consumers of margarine and the other spreads for bread. It is a question now of everybody being out of step but the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin. I think on Monday you will see what you will see.

RACING SHELLS

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immedi-

ate consideration of the bill (H. R. 5933) to permit the temporary free importation of racing shells.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the duty on imported racing shells imposed by paragraph 412 of the Tariff Act of 1930 shall be suspended until January 1, 1949.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

WOMEN'S ARMED SERVICES RESERVE BILL OF 1948

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 545 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 1641) to establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Regular Army and Marine Corps and the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, and for other purposes. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 2 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Armed Services, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH], and yield myself such time as may seem requisite.

Mr. Speaker, the rule which is now brought before the House is one which, if adopted, will enable the House to give consideration in Committee of the Whole in the course of the usual procedure to the bill generally known as the WAC and WAVE bill.

It is not my purpose, Mr. Speaker, to address the House at length upon this measure. But first let me say that the rule is the normal, so-called open rule. After its adoption general debate will be limited to 2 hours. Then the bill will be read for amendments in the usual fashion. Just a word about the measure itself and perhaps its origin. I am sure a great many of you will remember the discussions which took place back in 1942 and 1943, while we were at war, with respect to the admission of women to the military services of the United States. I can remember very well at that time there were a good many cynical remarks made, some were very unkind remarks, with respect to the ability of women to

serve faithfully and efficiently in assisting the armed forces. However, the legislation went through—one bill for the establishment of what later became known as the Women's Army Corps, and known since then as the WAC; legislation establishing a similar corps known as the WAVES, and another group of women who joined in the Marine Corps.

These women, after they were organized in their respective groups, soon became exceedingly valuable. I can remember very well that at the time of the organization of these groups a good many people, some of them in the military services, expressed doubts as to whether they could really be useful. It took but a short time, however, for all the people in authority in the military services to realize that these women were doing an excellent job. They served in many, many capacities, none of them combatant, but in doing so they were of enormous assistance, especially at general headquarters and the several headquarters of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, in doing work which otherwise would have had to be done by men. Indeed, they were instrumental in releasing for more active and strenuous service, and perhaps combat service, thousands of men in the armed forces. They came through the war with great credit to themselves. They served most effectively. At the end of it every military officer with a sense of responsibility and with experience behind him commended them. Since then they have gone on, of course, in greatly decreased numbers, doing the same kind of work in time of peace. We now have come to a point when we must decide whether or not the services of women in the several branches shall be continued, and in what status. It is not my purpose at this time to describe the provisions of this bill. I may remind you, however, that while the bill itself is a Senate bill, having been sent to this body a good many weeks ago, the House Committee on Armed Services, in studying this question for months, has reported the Senate bill with a large number of amendments. Some of those amendments are fundamental in character, so that even the title of the Senate bill does not now describe accurately the purposes of this bill.

From all my observations of the military services and from all my conversations with many women attached to them or serving in them, I cannot say less than to urge the Members of the House to give their serious consideration to this bill and in the end approve it, because I believe it is a sound measure.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. RAYBURN. The Senate bill, as I understand it, provided that the WAC and WAVES be made a part of the Regular Army. Is that correct?

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is correct.

Mr. RAYBURN. The House bill, if I understand it, puts them in the Reserves?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It establishes them as a part of the reserve components of the several services. They may be called to active duty, just like a male member of the Reserves in the active services, and be given exactly the same

treatment, whether they be officers in those women's organizations or enlisted women.

Mr. RAYBURN. Does the gentleman think that is a wiser provision?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I do. I think for at least for some time to come, it would not be wise to inject these women into the Regular Army and the Regular Navy and the Regular Marine Corps. There are certain doubtful questions which arise in that connection, which the Committee on Armed Services studied with great interest. As I understand it, this bill proposes that they shall be members of the reserve components, and may be called to active duty, or if they are now on active duty, may be retained on active duty with their consent.

Mr. RAYBURN. The gentleman is always very persuasive with me, but I think I will have to hear a little more argument on that point before I can go along with him.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. SHAFER. I may say the legislation before you continues the status quo of the women in the military services for 1 year, before they are placed in the Reserves. In that 1 year I think we will be able to consider the further status, relative to their association with the services, from that time on. However, it does continue for 1 year the status quo of these women in the military services, before they are placed in the Reserves.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mrs. BOLTON. I suppose anyone who is in the Reserves would have had to serve in the Regular forces before they could be put in the Reserves. Am I wrong about that?

Mr. WADSWORTH. Having served during the war, they are eligible to be included in the Reserves.

Mrs. BOLTON. For the present, yes; but in the future?

Mr. WADSWORTH. In the future also. They may join the Reserves and then be called back to duty with their consent.

Mrs. BOLTON. On that basis, of course, they have nothing but a temporary status.

Mr. WADSWORTH. They have much more than a temporary status. Any member of the Reserves in the Armed Services has much more than a temporary status.

Mrs. BOLTON. The women would have just a relative position. They would not have a commissioned rank.

Mr. WADSWORTH. She would have a commissioned rank in the Reserves. There are thousands of Reserve officers, men, now serving on active duty, who make no complaint about their military status.

Mrs. BOLTON. They have all served in the Army?

Mr. WADSWORTH. These women have, too.

Mrs. BOLTON. For the moment, yes. Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Women coming along now who have not had wartime service could qualify and be admitted to the Reserves without previous service?

Mr. WADSWORTH. As I understand the provisions of this bill, they could. Of course, they would have to qualify.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Could the gentleman give us some of the objections to putting them into the Regular Army now?

Mr. WADSWORTH. In all frankness, I think the discussion of that should be indulged in by members of the committee who have made this study.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield.

Mrs. BOLTON. I have read the testimony and it is my feeling that the heads of the services have testified they would like to have these women remain in the Regular service.

Mr. WADSWORTH. That is my understanding, but that will be discussed by members of the Armed Services Committee.

Mrs. BOLTON. It seems to me that we should know why the Armed Services differ so definitely from the heads of the services.

Mr. WADSWORTH. You can get all that information in the general debate from members of the Armed Services Committee. It is not my function to describe in detail this bill and explain why a committee of the House of which I am not a member, has reached certain conclusions.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York has consumed 10 minutes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I am satisfied that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN], our former Speaker, does not need to worry very much as to the ladies being made part and parcel of our Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force in the very near future, although the provision giving them such status was stricken from the Senate bill. Knowing the Army and Navy as I do, and appreciating how the official personnel feel about increased expenditures, I know they will have the ladies in the regular armed services in no time at all.

The Speaker stated when he asked for order that this is an important piece of legislation and I agree with him that it is. The gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] who presented the rule gave some explanation of various provisions of the bill but not full details or how far-reaching it is; consequently I will give you a brief explanation of the provisions of the bill and what they authorize.

Title 1 authorizes the appointment of women in the Officers Reserve Corps and the enlistment of women in the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army. All laws applicable to present and former commissioned officers and present and former enlisted men and to their dependents and beneficiaries are applicable to present and former commissioned officers

and women of the Enlisted and Officers Reserve Corps.

Title 1 authorizes the President to appoint women in the Officers' Reserve Corps in grades from lieutenant colonel to second lieutenant. It further permits the appointment of any former Director of Women's Army Corps who served satisfactorily to be appointed to the grade of colonel in the Reserve Corps; also permits appointment of women specialists by the Secretary of the Army in such grades as he may prescribe. It also authorizes the President to form female members of Reserve components into such organizations and units as he may prescribe.

The bill extends the present Women's Army Corps for 1 year, which would otherwise expire July 1, 1948. This to permit orderly transition from the Women's Army Corps to the new Reserve status.

Title 2 amends the present law for women who served in the Naval Reserve and repeals certain sections and creates new authority for the appointment and enlistment of women in the Naval Reserve.

The present law provides for the appointment of women in the Naval Reserve only for duration of present war and for 6 months thereafter. New sections of this bill will permit appointment and enlistment of women without a termination date.

This title also permits appointment of women in the Marine Reserve Corps. It prohibits the assignment of women in the Naval Reserve to duty in aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions and limits assignment aboard naval vessels to hospital ships and naval transports.

Title 3—new title—authorizes enlistment and appointment of women in the Officers' and Enlisted Section of the Air Force Reserve. The President is authorized to commission women in the Air Force Reserve in the grades of lieutenant colonel to second lieutenant, inclusive.

Title 3 also provides for the appointment of any person formerly serving in the temporary grade of colonel in the Women's Army Corps to be appointed colonel in the Air Force Reserve. Assignment of women in Air Force Reserve to aircraft assigned to combat missions is prohibited.

I shall not take up further time in explaining the provisions of the bill but shall leave to the chairman and the members of the Committee on Armed Services the full explanation of its various provisions.

Mr. Speaker, I have endeavored to obtain information as to what the additional cost to the Government will be if the bill is enacted but have been unable to ascertain it and I doubt if anybody here knows or can state how many more millions this legislation will call for.

Personally, I am satisfied that the women have served the country well; but that was during the war. I feel now that the war is over—and I hope there is no danger of another war—that it will not be necessary to expand the women's branches of the armed services.

Day in and day out the Republicans criticize the Democratic administration, saying that we are spendthrifts, that we spend too much money, that we are reckless with Government expenditures; but notwithstanding that fact nearly every week you have one or two bills up here for consideration that call for an additional expenditure of millions of dollars. I wonder by reason of your reckless spending legislation how you will be able to explain to the country at the end of the fiscal year that instead of having a surplus we will find ourselves with an extremely large deficit running into the millions of dollars. I ask on whom will you put the blame for the expenditures and for the deficit that is bound to show at the end of the fiscal year?

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. SHAFER. May I say to the gentleman that the legislation we have before us now does not add 1 cent to what has already been appropriated. This has already been taken care of in the appropriations.

Mr. SABATH. Does the gentleman mean that the appropriations have already been made?

Mr. SHAFER. That is right.

Mr. SABATH. In advance for what this legislation covers?

Mr. SHAFER. This does not cost anything. It is already appropriated.

Mr. SABATH. You gentlemen possess a great deal of influence with the Appropriations Committee if you can get appropriations for legislation that have not even been considered by the House. That satisfies me that you are reckless with the expenditure of money, yet you charge the Democratic administration with being responsible for the wasteful expenditures, notwithstanding that you Republicans, who have control of both the House and Senate, yourselves appropriate these large sums.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BROOKS. It is proposed by this bill to authorize and continue the use of women who are presently employed by the armed services as members of the WAVES and WAC. This merely proposes to give legal sanction to continuation of the use of women in the armed forces. They are being used now. So the continued use of them will not increase the over-all cost but it will give legal authority to continue their use. That is the purpose of this measure before us today.

Mr. SABATH. It also provides for advancement in grade.

Mr. BROOKS. That is the present law.

Mr. SABATH. And the gentleman says this will not cost any more money?

Mr. BROOKS. The present law provides for the same thing, I may say to the gentleman. It is the law we passed in 1942 and the gentleman supported it during the war.

Mr. SABATH. I admit that I supported this legislation which was enacted during the war, but the war is over. I shall support legislation now for anything that is actually necessary as I do not wish to oppose anything that may affect the dear ladies. However, I know something about our armed services and realize that the generals, the admirals, and the tops would hate to lose the services of any of the ladies under their command. They like them just as well as we do.

Mr. BROOKS. The Army employs some 6,000 of them at the present time.

Mr. SABATH. How many are there in all employed in the Army, the Navy, and the other departments?

Mr. BROOKS. I do not have the figures on that.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I may say to the distinguished member of the Rules Committee that all in all, in officers and enlisted personnel, Army, Navy, and Air Corps, there are about 8,000. Now, those are 8,000 jobs. If these women do not fill them as members of the WAC or WAVES, someone else will fill these jobs. There is no additional expense whatever involved, except if you let all these women go and bring in civil-service employees then you will be obligated to pay overtime.

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman for his explanation. I hope he is right. He is chairman of the Committee on the Armed Forces and should know. However, I was under the impression that this bill provides for promotions and, therefore, would be bound to call for additional expenditures and, later on, if the extremely liberal benefits now accorded to the officers and men in the regular armed establishments are extended to the women joining the regular service, large appropriations will be required. Unlike the civil-service employees who pay income taxes, they will be exempt from paying such tax, with resultant loss in revenues. If there are 8,000 employed now and they are needed, that may be one thing. I know that they have qualified as splendid secretaries and stenographers and in some positions perform their work better than young men whose services can be utilized in other tasks. But nevertheless I am fearful that the tendency will be to still further expand the women's services and thereby increase our expenditures, and in view of the already alarming increase in cost of government from day to day I do not know how long we can continue to be such spendthrifts such as you gentlemen charge the administration, when you yourselves, as I said, continuously bring in bills and legislation that call for the expenditure of millions and millions of dollars. I repeat the question that so frequently is propounded by the gentleman from Pennsylvania, "Where will you get the money?"

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I wish to say that notwithstanding the statements of the proponents of this legislation that no cost is involved, you will find before

the year is over that the cost of putting this legislation into effect is bound to tremendously increase our expenditures. You are in power and have the votes and I am satisfied that the rule as well as the bill will pass.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KEEFE].

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Washington Post this morning an article over the purported signature of one Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr., relating to the hearings that are currently being conducted by the Deficiency Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations with respect to the European recovery program. I shall not discuss the source of the gentleman's information, but I think there is one statement in it that ought to be called to the attention of the Congress and the country now, because it is indicative of the campaign of misrepresentation that is going to be waged in an effort to club the members of this committee and the Congress into a very superficial, perhaps, examination of the estimates that have been presented to implement the European recovery program. As an indication of the start in that direction there appears this language, after a long discussion of what was supposed to be information contained in executive hearings of this committee:

For the ERP hearings TABER had chosen a subcommittee about as critical as any that he could have found. Two of its members, Representative KARL STEFAN, Republican, Nebraska, and FRANCIS CASE, Republican, South Dakota, had fought ERP to the bitter end, and had voted against the authorization bill.

Then follows a description by name of the other members of the committee, with this statement:

Many of these had voted for ERP with misgivings, and some expressed their dislike of the bill during the floor debate.

The evident purpose of that statement in the press was to give the public the impression that the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations had set up a new special committee to conduct hearings on the appropriation estimates for the European recovery program, and that he had deliberately stacked this committee with people who were opposed to the program.

The truth of the situation is that every fair, and intelligent, and informed newspaperman, I am sure, knows that the Deficiency Committee of the Committee on Appropriations has been in existence ever since the beginning of the Eightieth Congress, and that no special committee was selected by the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations to conduct these hearings. The appropriation estimate came up from the executive department in the regular manner, and in the regular form that all estimates of this character are presented to the Committee on Appropriations.

The committee that is now conducting hearings on this appropriation estimate for the European recovery program is the identical deficiency committee that has conducted hearings in connection with all other European recovery programs and all supplemental and deficiency appropriation estimates, so it is very unkind and very unfair in the implications contained in this article to charge either directly or by indirection that the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has selected a committee that is bound to not give this ERP program a searching investigation.

As far as I am concerned, I voted for ERP, but that does not mean that I as a member of that committee am going to accept without the most searching examination the estimates that have been presented. The committee itself and all of its members, I believe, intend to go into every single item in that program and examine it carefully and critically, if you please, in order that the domestic economy of the United States may be protected, which was the fundamental thesis written into the organic law passed by this Congress to provide for ERP, when it charged this committee with that responsibility. I can assure you that before these hearings are concluded the Congress and the American people will have the information they ought to have in order to appraise the ultimate effect of this entire program upon the economy of our own country. As far as I am concerned, I as one who voted for this program and am in sympathy with its objectives intend to see that in carrying it out, as far as I have it within my power, that program is not going to destroy the economic security and welfare of the United States of America.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (S. 1641) to establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps and the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill S. 1641, with Mr. CANFIELD in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, the purpose of the bill before you is to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps.

This bill was reported to the House by a vote of 26 to 1 and reflects the opinion of the Armed Services Committee that women played a vital role in World War II and that their services may be necessary in the event of future war.

The committee was unanimous in its opinion that women can and do perform certain duties in the armed services as well or better than men. We do not wish to discontinue the services of women and therefore the committee has reported a bill to the House which will authorize their enlistment and appointment in the Reserve components of the various services. We have also extended the Women's Army Corps for an additional year and have amended the Naval Reserve Act so as to eliminate that part of the act which would have terminated women in the Naval Reserve at the end of the war, plus 6 months. In so doing we have assured the continuation of women in the services. As the bill is now written, there is no limit on the number of women that may join the Reserve components. The only limit on the number of women that may be voluntarily ordered to active duty for indefinite periods of time will be based entirely on the needs of the services. The services have repeatedly urged their need for women, and this legislation will permit them to utilize as many women as they desire.

We did not report the full Senate bill because the committee did not feel that this was the time to make women a permanent part of the services. There are many considerations involved in the problem of placing women in a permanent status in the services. It has never been tried for any prolonged period, and the committee felt that it would be better to place these women in a reserve status until women in a peacetime Army, Navy, and Air Force had been thoroughly tested. The argument has been made that this will not obtain the type of women desired by the services. We think that women who have a patriotic desire to serve their country will join the Reserve organizations as rapidly as they will join a permanent organization, just as have millions of men. Insofar as retirement benefits are concerned, as soon as H. R. 2744 becomes law, Reserves will also be eligible for retirement benefits. But not many will be affected according to General Eisenhower, for he testified:

There will be few that will go through to their 30 years' service which entitles them to retirement. A few of the officers, yes, but they will certainly have earned their retirement by the time they get it. Ordinarily, the enlisted individual will come in and I believe after an enlistment or two enlistments, they will ordinarily—and thank heaven—they will get married.

And again—when questioned on costs—General Eisenhower testified:

Of course, I see no additional expense. The only thing I can possibly see is the additional few, a very few, that will go through to their 30 years and on to retirement.

As I previously stated, there are many considerations involved in this question. When one considers the fact that over 100,000 Army officers applied for Regular commissions, many of whom had had excellent combat records, and were not accepted, one can understand why we look with reluctance at this time upon a proposition which would have permitted women to have been granted Regular commissions in the Army. This is also true in the Navy.

When all of the problems are considered, the happy solution seems to be to put the women in a reserve status for the present. In view of the present international tension, the pending selective service bill, and a 70-group air force, it would seem to be wiser at this time not to make a permanent change in the organizational structure of the services. Once enacted into law a permanent organization cannot be changed to any great extent.

The bill before you assures the continuation of women in the services, and permits the entire question of placing women in a permanent status to be carefully studied during a peacetime period.

Beyond that, may I say this assures that women in the armed services will continue for 1 year before they are placed in the reserve category. At least, it keeps what we have. It assures those women of one further year during which time any change can be made that the Congress desires to make.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHAFER. I yield.

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Would the gentleman explain to the House the effect on the present status of the women, who are now serving in the armed services, if this bill were voted down?

Mr. SHAFER. Well, they would be through. We would not have women in the armed services.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHAFER. I yield.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Is it not true if this bill is enacted a member of the Reserves on active duty will enjoy the same benefits, not only from the standpoint of retirement but disability benefits also, as though they were in the Regular services?

Mr. SHAFER. That is true. They can serve any number of years they wish to serve and they can retire under the retirement bill that is now before the Senate and which passed the House heretofore.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHAFER. I yield.

Mr. BROOKS. Is it not true that unless we take some affirmative legislative action before July 1 the WAC will go out as a legally constituted organization?

Mr. SHAFER. Yes, that is true.

Mr. BROOKS. And the WAVES within 6 months after the termination of the war. So we have to do something.

Mr. SHAFER. I may say to the gentleman there was considerable opposition in committee to placing the WAC and WAVES and the others on a permanent status. One of the reasons why this bill, placing them in the Reserves, is on the floor, is because we want to save what we have got. There was a question of whether we could do it under the original bill.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHAFER. I yield.

Mr. FLETCHER. I believe the gentleman stated that they would either be placed in the Reserves or on a permanent status. Does not the gentleman mean the Reserves or a Regular status?

I understand the Reserves is a permanent status; is it not?

Mr. SHAFER. Yes.

Mr. FLETCHER. So you are talking about either a Reserve status or a Regular status.

Mr. SHAFER. A Reserve status or a Regular status.

Mr. FLETCHER. But the Reserves is permanent?

Mr. SHAFER. Yes; that is right, or until such time as this legislation is amended.

Mr. REES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHAFER. I yield.

Mr. REES. Does the gentleman mean to say that these women who go into the armed forces under this legislation will be entitled to all of the provisions under what is known as the GI bill of rights?

Mr. SHAFER. I am talking about the retirement bill that was passed by the House some time ago and is now pending in the Senate. They will also come under the GI bill of rights.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. SHAFER. I yield myself one additional minute, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. REES. This bill provides that women may remain in the armed forces permanently. Is that not correct?

Mr. SHAFER. In the Reserve Corps, yes.

Mr. REES. Are they entitled, because they are in the Reserve Corps and by reason of their service in the Reserve Corps, to the benefits of the GI bill of rights?

Mr. SHAFER. Yes; those who had service during the war.

Mr. REES. And veterans' preferences?

Mr. SHAFER. Yes.

Mr. REES. They will have veterans' preference rights because they served in this corps?

Mr. SHAFER. Yes; if they are qualified veterans.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has again expired.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Louisiana is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, this bill marks an epic in the development of our armed forces. For the first time during the period of peace we are authorizing organizations of women in our armed forces. It is true that they will come in under the terms of this bill as women reservists for periods of extended active duty but they will nonetheless be an important part of our armed forces. The bill before you seeks to form women's reserve organizations in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force. All organizations are more or less patterned along the same lines the Army would call into active service shortly after passage of this act some 13,500 women to be used as Wacs where needed in peacetime routine of the operation of this organization. It is proposed some 600 of these people will become commissioned officers and some 60 of them will be lieutenant colonels. It

is proposed that the director of the organization shall have the temporary rank of full colonel. The enlisted personnel, consisting of some 12,900 persons will be distributed in the seven enlisted grades in corresponding proportion as in the male section of our Army. All in all, the same pay, allowances, and full benefits accruing to male members of the Organized Reserve are accorded members of the Women's Reserve Corps under this act.

The organization of the WAVES, women marines, and WAFCs will be identical in all respects to that of the WACS. Where the law presently covering the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Air Force Reserves is not suitable to cover the women's sections of these services, special adaptation may be made for these purposes. We provide likewise that husbands of women in these services are not entitled to dependents' allowances unless proof of dependency is shown. No allowances are allowed children or other relatives unless actual support and dependency is clearly proved. All provisions of the statutes relating to our reservists are applicable to these people formed into Reserves of all the several services and the President is authorized to form any and all officer reserves, commissioned and enlisted Reserve Corps into such organizations and units as he may prescribe.

From every side come fine compliments regarding the magnificent work which the women of the service, Wacs, Waves, and women marines, and so forth, accomplished during the course of the war. They performed a magnificent service in most useful lines of endeavor and in many cases showing greater efficiency than the male section of the armed services. They worked with fidelity, courage, and loyalty during this extreme crisis in the life of this Nation and they are entitled to the gratitude of a grateful Nation. I do not believe I can improve upon the words used by General of the Armies, Dwight D. Eisenhower, before the Armed Services Committee when he stated:

In tasks for which they are particularly suited Wacs are more valuable than men, and fewer of them are required to perform a given amount of work. As telephone operators, clerks, stenographers, and secretaries, as statisticians, interpreters of aerial photos, and as technicians in various types of hospital and other work their performance was and continues to be outstanding.

In the disciplinary field they were, throughout the war, a model for the Army. Throughout 3 years' experience with them in Europe I cannot recall but one case among the Wacs that was serious enough to be brought to my personal attention. More than this, their influence throughout the whole command was good. Carefully supervised, presenting a picture of model deportment and neatness, their presence was always reflected around a headquarters in improved conduct on the part of all.

It is, therefore, the natural desire of the armed services that women units be retained. General Eisenhower, General Paul, and others indicate that a nucleus is needed from which expansion may occur in the event of another emergency. They all suggest that we adopt the principle that these units shall consist of not

more than 2 percent of the personnel of the Regular Establishment, and they feel that this 2 percent will form the nucleus from which further expansion may occur in the event it is necessary.

During the course of the war the WAC were expanded to a high point of 140,000 women. The WAVES and women marines had corresponding personnel.

The Senate bill which came to us provided that these women's organizations be integrated into the Regular Establishment. The Armed Services Committee of the House found a number of unsolved problems in reference to such a procedure and preferred to place these women in the Reserves, subject to call on extended active duty. The Wac or Wave receiving a call to extended active duty will know that her service for all intents and purposes may be just as permanent as though she were integrated into the armed services as a part of the Regular Establishment. She will know that her opportunities for promotion will be the same, and I know that her opportunities for retirement pay will be improved when the provisions of H. R. 2744, which this House unanimously approved, becomes law.

All of the witnesses testified that the huge majority of these women will never go through 30 years of service, which would entitle them to a retirement if they were members of the Regular Establishment. General Eisenhower stated the matter this way:

There will be few that will go through to their 30 years' service which entitled them to retirement. A few of the officers, yes, but they will certainly have earned their retirement by the time they get it. Ordinarily, the enlisted individual will come in and I believe after an enlistment, or two enlistments, they will ordinarily—and thank God—they will get married.

Because of this fact, all of the service expect a larger turn-over in these organizations. The woman who serves 10 years, following which she leaves the service, if she were a member of the Regular Establishment, would have earned nothing tangible on a retirement. Under the terms of H. R. 2744 when it becomes law, she may leave the service after marriage and yet remain a part of the Reserve Establishment. The time she has consumed on active duty would be used as a credit by her in building on her retirement as a member of the Reserve Establishment and ultimately she would have the same retirement benefits which would be due male members of the Reserve Corps. In addition to this, the armed services could hope to have a large backlog of women reservists who might be available for active duty in the event of an emergency, and these well-trained people would provide the means of rapid expansion on a voluntary basis of the women units in the armed services.

In spite of suggestions regarding promotion, to my mind, in the event women are integrated into the Regular Establishment, their opportunities for promotion will not be correspondingly as great as male members of the Regular Establishment. This may be due to the fact

that the highest permanent commissioned rank allotted to women under the recommendations of all of the armed services would be that of colonel. This means that a woman with training, education, and proficiency in service would meet a stone wall as far as promotion is concerned when she reached a grade of major or lieutenant colonel. The use of selection to retire forcibly those in the higher brackets in large numbers would hurt the morale of the service a great deal and under the program suggested no possibility of promoting those reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel is permitted. This bill as amended then gives to our armed forces a woman's Reserve organization. It makes it possible to continue the fine services of these young women which started during the course of World War II and the continuance of which is much to be desired. It makes it possible that all of our armed forces may call from the Reserve into active service women needed to fill specific positions when services are necessary. In line with the splendid work of handling clerical and stenographic office work, operating telephones, radios, switchboards, bookkeeping work, sales clerk and stock clerk, pharmacists and sanitary technician, and many other works of a similar character, they will be available. The Armed Services Committee reported this bill with only one opposing vote, and presents it to you as to what it believes presently to be the best method of handling this problem.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. FLETCHER].

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. Chairman, I rise mainly for the purpose of clarification of S. 1641 as amended. As I read from title 3, section 301, subsection (c) it appears conclusive to me that the Secretary of the Air Force can set the qualifications of those he recommends for appointments for commissions. Therefore they need not necessarily have been commissioned previously in the armed services to be qualified for a commission in the Air Force Reserve. I have reference to that great group of young women fliers known as the WASPS who did such a grand job during World War II. I have before me the report which accompanied H. R. 4219 in the Seventy-ninth Congress. It calls attention to the fact that there were over 500 women pilots engaged in flying all types of aircraft within the continental limits of the United States. I do not want to detract from the wonderful record made by other women in the armed services, but I do feel that the WASPS, the Women's Air Forces Service Pilots, are the unsung heroines of the last war in the respect that they were never made a part of the Regular armed services. An attempt was made when H. R. 4219 was brought on the floor during the Seventy-ninth Congress, but by a very narrow margin of 169 votes for and 189 votes against the bill, the WASPS were not allowed to become a part of the Regular service.

We spent over \$12,000 in training these women in their flying courses. As a matter of fact, the United States Gov-

ernment has approximately \$50,000 invested in each one of the splendid young women. They did a remarkable job but not without casualty. During the time they were piloting these airplanes as ferry pilots, 37 girls were killed. However, they were experts in their field; 150 girls ferried the B-26's, which, as you know, were one of the hottest planes the Air Force had, and there never was a single accident. The average age of these girls was 24 and they will be available for the Reserve for a number of years.

During the hearings it was pointed out that Gen. Henry H. Arnold appeared before the House committee and strongly recommended that they become part of the Regular service. Also the Honorable Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, stated in a letter that the War Department believed that presently qualified female pilots and necessary female administrative personnel should be commissioned in the Army of the United States without delay, and that provision should be made for additional appointments as the need arose.

In regard to this bill, S. 1641 as amended, before the House today, it seems to me to be clear that the WASPS who were flying under the direction of the Air Corps in a civilian status, and not in the Regular Air Corps, are to be allowed to join the Reserves. May I ask a member of the subcommittee if my understanding is correct, that there is nothing in this bill that would prohibit the Secretary of the Air Force from taking the WASPS into the Air Force Reserves?

Mr. SHORT. I think the gentleman is correct. There is nothing to prohibit the Secretary of the Air Force from appointing them.

Mr. FLETCHER. If they meet the qualifications of the Secretary of the Air Force, they could get into the Reserves?

Mr. SHORT. I think that is correct.

Mr. FLETCHER. I thank the gentleman for that clarifying statement. May I call the attention of the Members that the bill further provides in subsection (f) of section 301 that—

The Secretary of the Air Force shall prescribe the military authority which any female person of the Air Force Reserve may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which such female persons may be assigned: *Provided*, That female persons of the Air Force shall not be assigned to aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions.

I think that clearly shows that it was the intention of the committee to include the WASPS in the Air Force Reserves.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DURHAM].

Mr. DURHAM. Mr. Chairman, when the idea of putting women in the services was first brought to the attention of the old Committee on Military Affairs, I had a lot of reservations about adopting this as a policy in America. Of course, we had never done it before. However, many of us traveled throughout the world during the war years and saw these girls in many parts of the world performing duties that were hard and arduous, many

times in places that we probably thought they should not be. I never heard one of them complain of the duties they were asked to perform during all their years of service.

About a quarter of a million or more girls served in these services during the war as Waves, Wacs, Spars, and Wasps. Like the gentleman who just preceded me, I think the Wasps deserve recognition. They performed a very arduous and hard task in many parts of the world. Primarily, the reason I am supporting this legislation at the present time is that in a few weeks we will probably be asked to raise the number of personnel in our armed forces. I think we are all aware of the emergency that exists today with reference to the trained personnel which our armed services are trying to get along with to perform their duties and maintain a fighting force. During the war it required about 10 men back of the lines to support every fighting man. Today the Army is trying to get along with four men supporting one fighting man. It cannot be done and have an efficient Army. We hear accusations today that the armed forces of our country have become top-heavy and that it is entirely an administrative job. It is a big job. It is a job that we do not think about and appreciate here as we should. It is expending more money and is a larger organization than United

States Steel or Sears, Roebuck and a half dozen other of the largest American concerns today. It simply cannot function unless we, as the constituted body and authority here, give to the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps what they need to perform their duties. I have before me a chart which was presented to us this morning in the Committee on Armed Services showing the strength as of today at 1,376,408 men. I also have a chart which shows what that force will be as of March of next year if the rate of enlistment gains and discharges continues as at present. We are considering legislation now which, in my opinion, can be helpful in this situation. From the best information that we can secure, there seems to be about 2 percent of the jobs in the Army which, it is estimated, will be filled by this group of people, whether in the Reserve status or permanent status.

Under the reserve bill as presented here today by the Committee on Armed Services, they have full authority to call in as many as they care to call in for service duty. I believe it would be helpful in this present hour. We are not assured as to whether or not this body and the Senate will adopt the legislation as requested by the armed forces and by the President, that is, the so-called draft measure. So in view of that fact I think we should not hesitate to adopt

this legislation and put it into operation as quickly as possible. There is a group of people, of course, and I do not know how many, that we can get in on a volunteer basis. And there are others who will have to come back from the Reserve Corps. Not to permit them to serve their country in some capacity would be rather disastrous in my opinion in the present hour. I have a chart in my hand showing the manpower pool in the 19- to 25-year-old group. The total in that pool is 8,410,560. Those with prior service, in that pool, is 3,371,300, which would be exempt under the present legislation being considered.

The total who had no service because of physical defects is 1,489,500. The total number, nonfit veterans, is 1,181,800.

So you finally wind up in this pool with an army of single, nonveteran, non-father status, of 1,362,000 people. That is the pool you will have to deal with if you get the so-called Regular Army, which they tell us they must have of around 700,000. We are going to have to supplement it in every possible way. So I hope this body will adopt this legislation today, because I feel it is necessary, and will be helpful in the present world situation. I offer for the RECORD figures I referred to that show definitely the personnel problem that is facing our armed forces.

Enlisted strength gains and losses July 1, 1947-Mar. 1, 1948

	Army	Navy	Air	Marines	Total		Army	Navy	Air	Marines	Total
Strength July 1, 1947.....	594,078	434,453	263,082	84,795	1,376,408	Strength Nov. 1, 1947.....	511,161	407,679	283,662	83,256	1,285,758
Gains, July.....	15,520	13,003	12,641	1,926	43,090	Gains, November.....	10,158	15,150	10,001	1,335	36,644
Reenlistments.....	(4,359)	(7,600)	(5,194)	(722)	(17,875)	Reenlistments.....	(5,458)	(10,220)	(3,579)	(705)	(19,962)
Other.....	(11,161)	(5,403)	(7,447)	(1,204)	(25,215)	Other.....	(4,700)	(4,930)	(6,422)	(630)	(16,682)
Losses.....	34,637	11,817	8,902	2,268	57,624	Losses.....	23,233	41,395	4,752	4,188	73,568
Strength Aug. 1, 1947.....	574,961	435,639	266,821	84,453	1,361,874	Strength Dec. 1, 1947.....	498,086	381,434	288,911	80,403	1,248,834
Gains, August.....	12,820	11,910	14,033	1,743	40,506	Gains, December.....	12,640	14,655	10,377	1,645	39,317
Reenlistments.....	(4,457)	(6,663)	(3,646)	(710)	(15,476)	Reenlistments.....	(6,222)	(10,324)	(3,720)	(917)	(21,183)
Other.....	(8,363)	(5,247)	(10,387)	(1,033)	(25,030)	Other.....	(6,418)	(4,331)	(6,657)	(728)	(18,134)
Losses.....	31,769	10,377	10,036	1,578	53,760	Losses.....	27,973	38,097	7,063	5,808	78,941
Strength Sept. 1, 1947.....	556,012	437,172	270,818	84,618	1,348,620	Strength Jan. 1, 1948.....	482,753	357,992	292,225	76,240	1,209,210
Gains, September.....	11,990	15,178	13,826	1,731	42,725	Gains, January.....	18,203	20,186	17,737	3,581	59,707
Reenlistments.....	(6,062)	(9,949)	(3,793)	(724)	(20,528)	Reenlistments.....	(7,995)	(10,361)	(5,160)	(1,769)	(25,285)
Other.....	(5,928)	(5,229)	(10,033)	(1,007)	(22,167)	Other.....	(10,208)	(9,825)	(12,577)	(1,812)	(34,422)
Losses.....	29,136	14,128	10,252	1,100	54,616	Losses.....	24,715	26,181	4,384	7,038	62,318
Strength Oct. 1, 1947.....	538,866	438,222	274,392	85,249	1,336,729	Strength Feb. 1, 1948.....	476,241	351,997	305,578	72,783	1,206,599
Gains, October.....	12,160	15,301	14,901	1,523	43,885	Gains, February.....	16,633	16,954	17,297	2,683	53,587
Reenlistments.....	(6,532)	(11,060)	(4,380)	(740)	(22,712)	Reenlistments.....	(7,654)	(8,349)	(4,208)	(1,167)	(21,378)
Other.....	(5,628)	(4,241)	(10,521)	(783)	(21,173)	Other.....	(8,999)	(8,605)	(13,089)	(1,516)	(32,209)
Losses.....	39,865	45,844	5,631	3,516	94,856	Losses.....	23,398	17,770	5,773	1,427	48,368
						Strength Mar. 1, 1948.....	469,496	351,181	317,102	74,039	1,211,818

Reenlistments includes all with prior service.

Armed forces estimated strength, gains, and losses with selective service, fiscal year 1949-fiscal year 1950

[All figures in thousands]

	Total			Army			Navy			Air			Marines		
	Total	Officers	En-listed	Total	Officers	En-listed	Total	Officers	En-listed	Total	Officers	En-listed	Total	Officers	En-listed
Strength July 1, 1948.....	1,446	183	1,263	540	75	465	427	51	376	397	50	347	82	7	75
Gains, fiscal year 1949.....	950	57	893	557	31	526	133	2	131	222	23	199	38	1	37
Reenlistments, all prior service.....			(190)			(90)			(25)			(70)			(5)
Other.....			(703)			(436)			(106)			(129)			(32)
Losses, fiscal year 1949.....	554	19	535	260	10	250	100	2	98	166	6	160	28	1	27
Strength, July 1, 1949.....	1,842	221	1,621	837	96	741	460	51	409	453	67	386	92	7	85
Gains, fiscal year 1950.....	634	24	610	155	5	150	250	7	243	184	11	173	45	1	44
Reenlistments.....			(156)			(35)			(59)			(55)			(7)
Other.....			(454)			(115)			(184)			(118)			(37)
Losses.....	473	10	463	155	5	150	154	2	152	135	3	132	29		29
Strength, July 1, 1950.....	2,003	235	1,768	837	96	741	556	56	500	502	75	427	108	8	100

Navy and marines: Bureau of Personnel (Captain Monroe)..... x-7, 733
 Air: Personnel and Administration Division (Major Jabbar)..... x-3, 082
 Total and Army: Personnel and Administration Division (Mr. Bonis)..... x-3, 353

Estimated military availability, ages 19 through 25, as of Mar. 31, 1948

Present age	Total	Total with no prior service	Total who had no service because of physical defects	Total probably fit non-veteran	Estimated single non-father nonveteran ¹
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
25.....	1,201,424	268,800	191,600	77,200	28,000
24.....	1,211,954	303,800	221,900	81,900	59,000
23.....	1,208,592	327,800	236,100	91,700	69,000
22.....	1,206,339	243,500	240,900	102,600	74,000
21.....	1,199,917	496,800	192,600	307,800	222,000
20.....	1,201,374	704,200	176,000	528,200	475,000
19.....	1,186,960	923,400	231,000	692,400	625,000
Total	8,410,560	3,371,300	1,489,500	1,881,800	1,352,000

¹ Census normal percentage of single men in each group.

² Estimate by Bureau of Census.

³ Estimated 25 percent physically disqualified.

NOTE.—Except as noted below these figures are from figures in Age in Selective Service.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. DURHAM] has expired.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts [Mrs. ROGERS].

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I understand an amendment will be offered which will take the WAC, WAVES, and SPARS into the Regular Army instead of taking them in as Reserves. I shall wholeheartedly support that amendment. I believe it is not necessary for me to speak of my abiding faith in the armed forces today. The WAC, the WAVES, and the women marines are not an experiment. Their excellent record during the war, and the opinion of all of our military chiefs, without exception, are testimony to that statement.

The women who are still serving volunteered first to help this Nation in an emergency—then they volunteered to stay on during the trying days of demobilization when personnel needs were most critical. Now, when we are faced with another critical shortage and with the necessity of drafting young men to fill the needs still existing in the services, we are asking these same women to continue on active duty without the permanency and security that can be theirs only with Regular status.

First of all, I would like to read the names of large groups, national organizations, which have passed resolutions in favor of this bill, S. 1461, the bill to take them in as part of the integrated services. The following organizations have passed resolutions favoring the speedy enactment of S. 1461, the Women's Army Service Integration Act of 1947. I have copies of the resolutions which I will insert.

The following are copies of the resolutions:

AMERICAN LEGION

1. Following motion was unanimously adopted at meeting of the national legislative committee of the American Legion on April 26, 1947:

"That the American Legion support legislation which seeks to establish a permanent WAVE Corps in the Navy and a WAC in the Army."

2. Motion No. 4 was made by Lyle O. Arnel (Kansas) and seconded by Hugh Askew (Oklahoma).

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Following resolution was adopted at fifty-sixth convention of General Federation of Women's Clubs at New York convention, June 23-27, 1947:

"WAC INTEGRATION ACT OF 1947"

"Whereas the experiences of World War II proved the military effectiveness of using the inherent skills and acquired training of women, and

"Whereas there is now pending before the Eightieth Congress of the United States a bill known as the WAC Integration Act of 1947 which provided for (a) the establishment of a voluntary corps of women, not to exceed 2 percent of the authorized strength of the Regular Army, and (b) the establishment of an Officers' Reserve Corps and an Enlisted Reserve Corps on the pattern already established for male Reserves: Therefore

"Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs in convention assembled, June 27, endorses the principle involved in this proposed legislation and urges its early passage; and further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to appropriate Members of the Congress of the United States."

Above motion was amended to include integration of women in the Regular Navy.

NATIONAL SOCIETY, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Resolution adopted by Fifty-sixth Continental Congress, May 19-23, 1947:

"PROPOSED LEGISLATION FOR THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE REGULAR ARMY"

"Whereas the experiences of the past two wars have definitely proved the value of the contributions of women to the military forces of the nations; and

"Whereas this organization is vitally concerned about all matters pertaining to the national defense; and

"Whereas the War Department has presented a legislative proposal to Congress providing for the establishment of the Women's Army Corps as an integral component of the Regular Army of Organized Reserve Corps.

"Resolved, That the Continental Congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution meeting in the fifty-sixth convention endorse the proposed legislation providing for the integration of women in the Regular Army and urge the speedy enactment of such legislation."

NOTE.—In the current Fifty-seventh Continental Congress Convention of Daughters of the American Revolution, a resolution is now before the committee urging speedy enactment of legislation to include women in both the Regular services and Reserves.

WOMEN'S PATRIOTIC CONFERENCE

The following resolution was adopted at the Twenty-first Women's Patriotic Conference, January 24, 25, 26, 1947:

"2. Whereas women now predominate in numbers in the population of the United States and wield great economic power; and

"Whereas women must play an important part in future national defense, be prepared to take care of themselves in any national emergency, and assume responsibility for the functioning and security of our country; and

"Whereas the women who served in the armed forces set a highly satisfactory standard of work performed in administrative, technical, and clerical duties: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Twenty-first Women's Patriotic Conference strongly recommends to the Congress of the United States the passage of legislation retaining women permanently in the armed forces, as requested by the War and Navy Departments."

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF

UNIVERSITY WOMEN,

Washington, D. C., May 26, 1947.

The Honorable PAUL W. SHAFER, Chairman, Subcommittee on Organization and Mobilization, House Committee on Armed Services, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SHAFER: The American Association of University Women, through its legislative procedure, has endorsed H. R. 3054, the bill to establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, which is before your subcommittee for consideration.

The AAUW is a national educational association of 92,000 women college graduates, organized in 983 local branches in all States of the Union. At its national biennial convention held in Dallas, Tex., April 14-18, the association approved by overwhelming vote a legislative item or principle under which, members had been previously informed, the AAUW would expect to give its support to legislation to establish the Women's Army Corps as a small, permanent unit in the Army.

The association hopes that H. R. 3054 will soon be favorably reported; it will be glad of an opportunity to testify for the proposed legislation should hearings be held.

Respectfully yours,

(Mrs. P. A.) FRANCES VALIANT SPECK, Secretary to Committee on Legislative Program.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26, 1947.

The Honorable WALTER G. ANDREWS, Chairman, Armed Services Committee, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., an organization of 117,000 business and professional women, at its 1946 convention went on record as favoring the retention of the women's units as component branches of the military services.

Realizing that the women who volunteered for service cannot be retained indefinitely without some assurance of a permanent status, we urge that your committee give early and favorable consideration to enacting legislation which will permit integration and future planning for these women.

Both as a group earnestly interested and justifiably proud of the wartime record of servicewomen, among whom well over 1,000 were Federation members, and as a group deeply concerned over the necessity of an adequate basis for expansion of our military strength, in the event of an emergency, we are hopeful of the earliest possible action in this matter.

Thank you for the cooperation and courteous attention which you have always given to our views.

Respectfully yours,

HELEN G. IRWIN, Legislation Chairman.

Whereas the Reserve Officers Association recognizes the contributions made by the Women's Army Corps during World War II and the present interim period and whereas this organization realizes that both the wartime and peacetime military establishments can be made more effective by the utilization of women and whereas the War Department has introduced to the Eightieth Congress a bill providing for the inclusion of women in the Regular Army and the ORC: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Reserve Officers Association endorse this proposed legislation and urge its early passage; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to appropriate Members of the Congress of the United States.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSO-
CIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA.

New York, N. Y., May 12, 1947.

Mrs. OSWALD B. LORD,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MRS. LORD: During World War II it was my privilege to closely observe the work of the WACS and WAVES. Their fine spirit and deep interest in performing assigned duties was particularly commendable. In my opinion they represent a constructive influence that is necessary in peacetime military units. Accordingly, I hope everything possible will be done to pass the present bills before Congress and insure the continuance of their program.

Sincerely yours,

ELEANOR WILSON,
Assistant Director,
Army and Navy Department.

ASSOCIATION OF THE JUNIOR
LEAGUES OF AMERICA, INC.,
New York, N. Y., May 16, 1947.

Mrs. OSWALD B. LORD,
New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR MRS. LORD: I should like the opportunity of telling you how very significant and important to the winning of the war was the work of the WAC and WAVES.

First in my position as director of civilian mobilization for New York State and then as executive secretary of the Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Inc., I had many opportunities to observe their efficiency, good humor, and generally excellent behavior. Also I learned from members of my family who were in the armed forces that they made significant contributions to the Medical Corps, the Army, and the Navy.

As I know you were instrumental all during the war in their recruitment and general efficiency, I would like to go on record, personally, as being in favor of their retention on a permanent basis. It would seem to me clearly indicated.

With kindest personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,

CLARICE H. L. PENNOCK
(Mrs. C. H. L. Pennock).

As you see it was strongly endorsed by the American Legion. It was endorsed by the General Federation of Women's Clubs; by the National Society, Daughters of American Revolution; American Patriotic Conference on National Defense; American Association of University Women; National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs; Reserve Officers Associations; National Council of YMCA; Association of Junior Leagues of America.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that only this morning I discussed the taking of women into the regular Navy with Admiral Denfeld, Chief of Naval Operations, and Admiral Radford, Deputy Chief of Operations. There has been some story going around that the officials of the Navy and the Army did not want the women taken into the Regular service. I have talked repeatedly with high-ranking officers of the armed services and they have stated most emphatically that they feel they would be much better off if women are taken in as part of the Regular service. They could function very much more efficiently in that way and they need them. Admiral Denfeld and Admiral Radford told me this morning again of how important it is that women be given permanent status. It seems to me also, in view of the great need of persons in the Army and Navy,

that the women ought to be taken in as a part of the Regular armed services.

I consider that the proposed amendment is of the utmost importance to the present legislation. The bill as it stands, without the amendment, is not a satisfactory solution to the question before the House. We must vote on the issue of whether or not we shall continue to utilize women in the armed services. I maintain that if we do vote to continue the women's services we are obligated to provide for the most efficient possible utilization of womanpower. The present bill, calling for organizations of women Reserves only, does not achieve that end. There are sound reasons why the women's services should be incorporated into the Regular armed forces, with supporting Reserve components—as provided in the proposed amendment.

Leaders of all the armed forces have assured us that they can obtain the best available womanpower only by offering Regular status. Obviously they are right. No business or profession could secure the services of the highest caliber of working woman without offering some degree of permanence and security. Nor can the armed forces expect competent women to accept a situation where they can be called to duty when Congress thinks they are needed and released from service whenever Congress believes the services can get along without them.

One of the most important functions of the women's services in time of peace will be to serve as nuclei, ready for expansion in the event of emergency. The personnel of those skeleton staffs must be permanent. They must be the small group of women who will make lifetime careers of the Army, Navy, or Air Force. They will be the planners, the administrators. It will be their responsibility to bring into service and train other qualified women. Some of the latter may remain in service, it is true, for only two or three enlistments. Some will remain longer. Some women will join the Reserve organizations and be ready to serve their country in times of great emergency. But the nucleus of permanent people is the vital point. The rest of the structure will be built around them, varying in size with the needs of the times.

The members of the Regular, skeleton staff must be women who make careers of their jobs. The armed forces will compete with other businesses and professions to obtain the services of such women. Their competition will certainly be slight if they can offer no more than a Reserve status. Thus if we vote to give the services organizations of women Reserves, with no permanent components, we will be giving them a job to do without the proper facilities for doing it. They say they want women in the defense structure. They recommend the best way they know of to utilize those women. We are failing completely to cooperate with our military leaders if we ask them to utilize women in some other manner. It has been stated that women in the service will involve an additional expense to the Government. All studies made by the armed services have revealed exactly the opposite situation. The cost per person is less for women in the service than

for men. The main reason for the difference lies in the fact that dependency allowances paid to men are greatly in excess of those paid to women. For example, a man may claim his wife and children as dependents; a woman may not claim her husband or children unless such person is in fact dependent upon her.

It has been alleged that a Reserve organization is just as good as a permanent organization of women. That is not so. In the first place, no one expects the Army, the Navy, or the Air Force to operate as a Reserve organization alone. All the forces use Reserves when necessary, and it is a splendid system. But in every case there is a permanent body of Regulars who devote themselves permanently to the business of preparedness. The women's components must be set up in the same way to achieve maximum efficiency.

And why should we expect women to volunteer for service in which they will do the same work for the same pay as male soldiers, but without the benefits to which the male soldiers are entitled? If we are going to use women in the armed forces, I believe we must go the whole way and offer them identical status and benefits as men. There is no provision now for retirement of enlisted personnel on active duty in a Reserve status. Even if pending legislation is enacted to provide retirement benefits for Reserve personnel, the reservist, man or woman, will not have the same benefits as a member of the Regular Army.

Nor is there any assurance at all that a reservist will be kept on duty for any given period. Any or all women reservists could be removed from active duty if appropriations were cut.

There is no question that a large Reserve organization should be included in our plans for women in the armed forces. Some portion of that Reserve should undoubtedly be on active duty at this time. But now or at any time the Reserve would not work without the backing of the Regular force. That Regular force must be a professional nucleus of women officers and noncommissioned officers. I insist that we can provide such a nucleus only by authorizing permanent forces of women to work along with our permanent forces of men.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. BROOKS. I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DAVIS].

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, in supporting this legislation I wish to offer the observation that women are needed in the armed services of this Nation on a permanent basis.

Women are needed in the armed services of this Nation on a permanent basis, not only to form the nucleus of a corps for any possible future expansion, but also to handle the huge amount of work that it is doing right now.

Recruiting for the armed services has failed to provide the minimum strength authorized by Congress. Much of the work done by our military forces can best be done by women in uniform. And at this time we are confronted by the possibility that on the first of July the

Women's Army Corps will go out of existence under the terms of the current law.

Further than that—the armed services have no legal means of recruiting women who might volunteer their services to help do this work. To me, it seems the height of absurdity to hamstring our recruiting effort by forbidding enlistment of women—women who can handle many types of work necessary in the service much better than men. This source of personnel, which the services at present must ignore, could supply volunteers who could fill jobs in which many of the most acute shortages are found at present.

A Reserve system is a nice thing—a fine thing. But it is not quite the same thing as a permanent force of personnel actually in operation—actually at work upon critical jobs during a critical time.

I say, Yes—we should have a women's Reserve—by all means. But let us not forget that we would be in sad shape indeed if our entire armed forces were operated under the Reserve system. With the best system in the world, we could never be free of the waste and confusion, which would result if these Reserves were called into action in an emergency lacking a trained, operating force in being, around which it could group and expand.

It is during peacetime that we must take the steps to find out which aptitudes and skills, of all our citizens, can be best applied during an emergency. Integration into the Regular Services of a group of women will do much to further that type of study and will provide the personnel needed to carry out research in connection with it.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, it is not my intention to divert attention from consideration of the objectives of the pending legislation and thorough consideration of the matter of the Women's Reserve units. But what we are talking about and thinking about in connection with this legislation fundamentally is the defense establishment of this country. I think we might take a moment at least to look at the general Reserve program, particularly of the Army, as it is presently operated. The situation which we find there today is most regrettable.

On April 1 I wrote to Secretary of the Army Royall requesting certain information with regard to the Army Reserve Corps. I inserted a copy of that letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 2, 1948. It appears at page 4072. I have still to receive a letter in answer to that communication.

Mr. Chairman, it is my belief that the Army today does not have a Reserve program. When they speak of their Reserve program, they are speaking about a mere concept which they have not put down in concrete form. I am constantly receiving word from Reserve commanders in my district and elsewhere to the effect that they are at an absolute loss to know just what is expected of them, what the Army expects to do with them, and that there is absolute mismanagement of the entire Army Reserve program. It has been poorly planned, there

is lack of equipment, and it is being generally neglected.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I would like to point out that only within the last month has the Congress itself voted to give Reserves on inactive duty pay.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BROOKS. We have had up a retirement bill for the Reservists. We considered it for a long time and it was a year and a half before action was taken on it. It has not been acted on yet by the Senate. If we can get some legislation through of that kind we can take care of the Reserves.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I thank the gentlemen for their contributions. The gentlemen are members of the committee handling this matter. I am not contending that Congress is without blame. But the Army itself should have some idea what it is going to do with the Reserve program that the Congress has provided for.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. The gentleman will appreciate the fact that for better than a year at least 75 percent of the Reserve officers of the Army were in transit because they had no definite or permanent address. It was for that reason the Army could not promptly organize the officers into Reserve units. It is my opinion the Army should be given an opportunity to organize the Reserves and if Congress enacts the Reserve retirement bill I feel sure we will have a good Reserve Corps.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman believe we have a reasonable situation existing today, where a request is made of the Army for details of what it contemplates under the Reserve program, and the Army is unable in over 20 days to give that information to a Member of Congress? Or how does the gentleman explain the findings of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE], who contacted all of the department presidents of the Reserve Officers Associations.

He found that 91 percent of the department presidents of the Reserve Officers Association "claimed that the difficulty with the Organized Reserve Corps of the Army and Air Services involved either a poorly conceived and executed Reserve program, insufficient Reserve units, both as to number and as to type, lack of proper facilities, or inadequate training equipment."

And that, gentlemen, is the situation as it exists, not just the day after the war ended, but almost 3 years after the war ended.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SHORT. I wish to say that the gentleman from Wisconsin is speaking a

lot of truth, and I am inclined to agree with him that our armed services have certainly not made a determined effort to fill up not only our Reserve, but our National Guard as well. But, because of the legislation we have recently passed giving inactive duty pay and also retirement, hereafter the Army will have no excuse whatever for any dereliction in the performance of its duty.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. I thank the gentleman. That is a point I wanted to make, but the gentleman from Missouri, as usual, makes it better.

As one who believes in the necessity of a Military Establishment based on a comparatively small regular armed force supported by a well-trained citizenry Reserve, I am most concerned in seeing to it that the Army establishes a sound and well-managed Reserve program. We do not have such a program in existence today. I can find no excuse for the present situation, and certainly there can be no excuse for the continuation of this condition in the future.

As an example of the lack of an intelligent Reserve program, I call attention to a letter which I received today from a Reserve officer in California:

APRIL 17, 1948.

HON. J. W. BYRNES,

Member of Congress,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In the April 10, 1948, issue of the Army and Navy Register, I was very much interested in reading where you are making an investigation of the malfunctioning of the Army Reserve program. From the article I was not sure if you were including the Air Force in your investigation or not. It does seem that the activities of the Air Force Reserve program should be looked into as well as the Army.

I am a member of the Air Force Reserve, holding a commission as lieutenant colonel and have been in the Reserve continuously since November 1, 1918. As a result I have been able to observe the application of the Reserve program following two wars. The method of handling the Reserve activities are being bungled this time in practically the same manner as subsequent to World War I, only it seems to me to be worse this time.

During the recent war, I served nearly 7 years on active duty, being released at my own request last year. I was recommissioned in the Reserve in May of 1947 and was relieved from active duty in September. Upon returning to inactive status I received notification that I had been placed in the active Reserve; this one communication constitutes the sum total of correspondence of any kind that I have received. I have not, to my knowledge, been assigned to any unit or been advised of any matters of policy, in other words I might just as well not be in the Reserve forces.

I am not the only one in this respect, and I am sure that if some interest were shown in us and steps taken to organize units and provide training facilities, that an Organized Reserve could be built up that would be of material benefit to the country should the need arise.

If real steps were taken to train the Reserves and to keep them interested, I am sure that the response would be very encouraging and an energetic and virile force could be built up.

In closing, I want to say that I am glad you are taking such an interest in this matter and I hope you will be successful in improving the Reserve's activities.

Very truly yours,

_____, CALIF.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. SHEPPARD].

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Chairman, I desire to express my conviction that we should speedily approve a bill to make women a part of the Regular and the Reserve forces of our Army, Navy, Air Force, and marines.

The civilian and the military heads of all of the services have, without exception, endorsed legislation to include women in their Regular and Reserve forces. They have not asked for an unlimited number of women; their request that not to exceed 2 percent of their authorized strengths be women is certainly not excessive. We should give the services the authority to use the numbers of women they have asked for.

At the present time the House Armed Services Committee is considering a draft bill. What basis will we have for drafting young men to take over jobs as typists, telephone operators, and hospital technicians if we have just failed to act upon service-sponsored legislation which would have permitted women to do many of these jobs? Let the draft fill up the shortages which men alone can fill—in our combat forces, on our planes, and on our combat ships—but let us not take a man away from farm, home, or school to train him to be a telephone operator. There are and always will be certain jobs in each service which women can do better than men. On what grounds, then, can we fail to permit the armed forces to have women in their Regular Establishments?

If we are going to keep women in the services, then we must offer the women the same status as we offer the men. The number of women will always be small as compared to the number of men in each service; those women should and must therefore be of the highest caliber. Only the security of Regular service will attract such women into the armed forces. I urge speedy enactment of the bill to authorize women in the Regular and in the Reserve forces of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marines. I am told the gentlewoman from Maine [Mrs. SMITH] will offer a correcting amendment which I trust will be accepted by the Committee.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BROOKS. I think it would be appropriate to place in the RECORD at this point, since the gentleman's remarks deal largely with personnel, the number in the respective women's components of the armed forces. The Army now has 722 officers on duty in the WAC, 6 warrant officers, and 4,342 enlisted personnel. The Air Force has 168 officers, 1 warrant officer, and 1,862 enlisted personnel. The Navy has 422 officers and 1,692 enlisted personnel. The Marine Corps has 8 officers and 171 enlisted personnel.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Of course, I am very happy to have the gentleman contribute the figures he has given, because they are undoubtedly based upon facts. However, under the legislative proposal we

are presently considering, the status of the people to whom he has referred will be changed as respects approximately 40 percent of them.

Mr. BROOKS. The status of those in the Navy and the Marine Corps will not be changed. The status of the WAC will be changed from that of a permanent, integrated organization to that of a Reserve organization. The Navy and Marine Corps will not be changed, as they are Reserves at the present time. I join my friend from California in wanting to see proper legislation placed in the books that will fully protect the women who are contributing their services and their talents to the armed forces. A fight in the committee was made on an amendment for that purpose.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I do not want any misconception here because I am most appreciative of the efforts the committee has put forth to bring out a bill, but I do believe we should give the women we are inviting into our military functions the same participation we give our manpower, if we expect them to stay there and be happy about their service.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT].

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, the pending legislation authorizes the enlistment or appointment of women in the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps of our armed services.

When the original legislation was enacted into law back in July 1943, I admit I was not too enthusiastic about taking women into the armed services of our country. Perhaps it is because of an innate conservativeness or some southern chivalry or gallantry left in my soul that I never thought that women should have to fight a man's war. However, modern wars are fought for and by and in protection of total populations, and because of the excellent record made by the women in different branches of the armed services in the recent global conflict, I frankly confess that I have revised my thinking and changed my attitude.

General Eisenhower, General Bradley, and others have told us—and we had abundant opportunity during the war itself to witness it both at home and abroad—of the fine work accomplished by these women in the different branches of the service. We all know that there are many tasks and positions that a woman can occupy and perform much more efficiently and satisfactorily than can a man. That is the reason, I suppose, that most of the secretaries, stenographers, and clerks in our offices are women. They have a patience and a capacity for detail that the ordinary male citizen does not possess.

In addition, if we take in these women, that will release men for the heavier, more arduous combat duties during wartime. The present legislation which permits the enlistment and appointment of women in the Reserve forces is also amended by extending the present law for 1 year from July 1, 1948, when it would ordinarily expire, until July 1, 1949, in order to have a year of transi-

tion, changing them from the Regular to the Reserve component of our forces.

The bill also provides on page 29 that these women shall not be assigned to duty in aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions, nor shall they be assigned to duty on vessels of the Navy except hospital ships and naval transports. We have put in those safeguards which I think are wise. We do not want our women killed.

There are three different views that one can take of this bill. One group of people would simply let the act expire and do away with the WAC and the WAVES altogether. "Let us call an end to it." There is another group which would put them into the permanent Regular Establishment. Between those two extreme views, the Subcommittee and the full Committee on Armed Services reached a compromise whereby in the pending bill we do not abolish the Women's Reserve Corps in the different branches—we do not put them into the Regular Establishment—but we do put them in the Reserve components, giving them with minor exceptions all the benefits, rights, privileges, and emoluments that are given to male officers and former male officers in the Reserve Corps. I think equal treatment is meted out to men and women alike. Even if a husband is dependent upon his wife or the children are dependent on the mother, whether due to the father's death or otherwise, they themselves will receive the same rights and benefits as children of any male soldier. I think that the committee was convinced because of the critical situation at the present time that the best thing we could hope to accomplish was to reach a compromise, not by abolishing the Women's Corps altogether, not by putting them into the Regular Establishment, but by placing them in a Reserve where in case of emergency we would have a larger pool of women to call upon. I think the bill should pass as it has been reported.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Missouri has expired.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BONNER].

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the legislation that we are now considering, although I have different views from the gentleman from Missouri. I want to join in paying tribute to the Wacs and Waves and marines who served so faithfully and gloriously during the war. These women performed duties far beyond what was expected of them when they entered the services. They proved that they could serve and serve well. They played a glorious part in the national defense of this country. At the time the legislation came from the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Naval Affairs, doubt was expressed as to whether it was proper. As the gentleman from Missouri has so ably explained we all know the part that they played. They overwhelmed us all, and added a moral influence to the Army higher than that which ever existed in our armed forces before. I do think that in the consideration of this bill more thought should be given to the

privilege of permitting these young ladies to make a career of the service; should they desire for the grand and glorious service they have rendered should we not do this—we are taking something away from them to which they are entitled, and which I personally think they have a right to expect.

However, I did not rise altogether to speak for the Marines, the WAC, and the WAVES. I rose to call your attention to another group of young women, 20,000 or more, who served so gloriously and so efficiently in the Coast Guard of this Nation.

There was the Coast Guard's Women's Reserve organization — SPARS — activated late 1942 and serving throughout the war. The Spars were used throughout the Coast Guard in all of the administrative offices, supplanting a major portion of the male enlisted personnel. In other types of duty, their activities embraced the field of operations, public information, communications, personnel procurement, training, military morale, medical, and finance and supply.

The organization contained women of wide experience throughout the business world, professional, and clerical workers. They brought with them an earnest desire to serve their country and attained a high standard of morale which was a definite asset to the Coast Guard.

There were 978 officers and 11,868 enlisted personnel in the Women's Reserve of the Coast Guard during the war, which in effect released an equal number of men for other essential continental and overseas service.

In the consideration of this act it is desirable to keep in mind the advisability of reactivating the Women's Reserve of the Coast Guard to have ready a trained nucleus for quick expansion when the need arises.

I understand in time of emergency, and you understand, that the Coast Guard is immediately called in to serve as an integral part of the Navy. Legislation at the approach of the last war, and in the future, I hope, pertaining to the Coast Guard will be left to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House. Immediately after the bill creating the WAVES and WAC was introduced, the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House introduced a bill creating the SPARS. Those Spars served, as I have said, equally as well and faithfully and fulfilled all the duties assigned to them. I hope after the passage of this legislation, which I predict will pass, that the Merchant Marine Committee will be permitted to bring to the floor of the House a bill that will at least create in the Coast Guard a reserve for the women, so that they can be ready in case of future national emergencies, to join shoulders with the men in that grand agency of the Government, in that efficient arm of the national defense, to do their part in the future as they have done in the past.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BONNER. I yield.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Of course, the gentleman knows that in case of an emergency, if the SPARS are authorized they

will become a part of the Navy and will enjoy all of the benefits of that service.

Mr. BONNER. The gentleman misunderstood the point I am endeavoring to make—to permit the Coast Guard to retain reserves of women, similar to the WAVES, the WAC, and the Marine Corps, so that they can be ready to step in with the Coast Guard. As the Coast Guard joins the Navy, those Spars will join with the Coast Guard in the Navy.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BONNER] has expired.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES].

Mr. REES. Mr. Chairman, I want to join with every Member who has spoken before me in paying tribute to the women who served in the armed forces during the war period. I think we all acknowledge the fine, patriotic, loyal service they rendered to our country. They did serve with fidelity and courage. They are entitled to every bit of credit that may be extended them because of their service to our country.

I do feel also that there are many other thousands of women who served their country in the Government and outside the Government, who performed outstanding service during the war period, who are entitled to credit and commendation, but who will not receive it. There are thousands of women who were employed in our Government during the war period, who worked long hours and performed arduous duties, but have not and will not receive acknowledgment for their services. This is all understandable.

I take the floor at this time to ask a few questions with regard to the legislation before us. First, it is my contention that although it was most helpful to have women in the armed forces during the critical period of the war, it is not necessary that they join the armed forces during peacetime in order that they perform the duties required of them. Most of the women, so I am advised, during peacetime perform stenographic and clerical duties. It appears to me that women in classified civil service who qualify under competitive examinations should be entitled to perform those services. There may be a few exceptions to this proposal, but in nine cases out of ten, civil-service employees can do the work and do it just as well.

I find no fault with the continuation of the women now in the armed forces to have a year during which to make adjustments, but if those women are qualified to do the work—stenographic, clerical, or whatever it may be—then they should not hesitate to take the same positions in a civilian capacity under civil service.

Mr. Chairman, I am informed the bill presently considered places women in what is known as a Reserve capacity. No number is designated and there is nothing in the bill to indicate whether they will receive training under such program. It seems under this proposal they will be called upon to join what is known as Reserves and will be subject to call at the pleasure of those in charge of the armed forces.

To me this seems a little unfair to the women who join Reserve programs. In other words, they will not know if and when they may be called into service. As I understand the program, if the Army and the Navy want stenographers or typists, they can call Reserves to do the work, instead of calling women who are qualified under civil service. I see nothing in this bill to prevent them from doing it if they choose to do so. So I say there may be a few classifications where it would be helpful to have women in the armed forces to do certain specific work, but it is hardly fair to women in civil service to be replaced or to have jobs for which they are qualified taken by other women who happen to have joined the Reserves or are in the armed service.

I do want to ask a few questions with respect to this particular bill that is before us.

I think one member of the committee said there are approximately 8,000 now in service. Is that correct?

Mr. BROOKS. I put the exact list in the RECORD. I think it is more than that.

Mr. REES. But approximately 8,000.

Mr. BROOKS. Yes; something like that.

Mr. REES. Then I understand if this legislation is passed those 8,000 will be part of the Reserve components of the Army?

Mr. BROOKS. No; there will be 1 year's time in which that can be worked out.

Mr. REES. Are they to remain in service, perform their present duties continuously during that time?

Mr. BROOKS. It is intended to use the services of any who will voluntarily remain.

Mr. REES. One other question, how many women do you include under this bill? How many women do you expect to put in the Reserves under this legislation?

Mr. BROOKS. In the original bill passed by the Senate there was a restriction of 2 percent. Under the House version of the bill there is no limit.

Mr. REES. I understood there was some proposal to write in the figure "18,000"; but there is no limit under this legislation.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REES. If the gentleman will answer my question.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. It will depend entirely upon the amount of money appropriated by Congress.

Mr. REES. Exactly; the more money appropriated the more women you can put in the armed forces. This is strange procedure. In other armed forces there is authorized strength, a limit to the number or maximum, but not in this legislation.

Mr. BROOKS. Let me call attention to the fact that we are today planning for a selective-service bill. If these women volunteer we may not have to draft so many men or take them in forcibly.

Mr. REES. Whether they come in forcibly or not is something else. I want to raise another question. I assume we are talking about a peacetime

proposal here. Nearly all women under this legislation perform the same services as those in civil service at the present time. They are stenographers and clerks and do work of that kind. A number of them are in personnel work.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REES. In just a moment.

My contention is that nearly all the services performed by these women we are going to put in uniform can be done by women in civil service and there is no reason for putting more than a comparative few in uniform. As I say, these women are clerks and stenographers. They do a type of work that can be done by women under civil service, especially during peacetime. There might be exceptions during an emergency but the situation during peacetime does not warrant putting women in uniform in order to do work of receptionists and secretaries and personnel directors.

Now I would like to ask another question.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield at that point?

Mr. REES. In just a moment. I would like to ask another question about these women Reserves. Assuming they are in the Reserves, what are they going to do during the time before being called into active service? What are they going to do in the meantime, these 18,000 in the Reserves. Are they going into training? If so, what kind of training? Where?

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REES. Yes; I shall be glad to.

Mr. SHORT. They would do just exactly what male officers in the Reserves do.

Mr. REES. Now, just a moment; what is that? Do you mean military training? Where is the program? There is nothing outlined in this legislation concerning Reserve or any other kind of training.

Mr. SHORT. I want to answer the gentleman's question specifically.

Mr. REES. All right. A specific answer will be most helpful. How are they to be trained? Where? By whom? What kind of training?

Mr. SHORT. The gentleman is wrong in saying this is only for peacetime. This is for both peace and war.

Mr. REES. We are at peace now—

Mr. SHORT. Well, that is all right. This is for both peace and war. There would be no occasion for the legislation unless we considered the necessity for calling them into active service in case of war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. SHORT. The gentleman speaks of civil service. The gentleman should know that civil service does not fit into Army routine. Under civil service they come in at a certain time in the morning, sit at a desk and watch the clock waiting for quitting hour, then they jump up and go home whether their work is finished or not. They are not subject to the same discipline and hours of work as are the women in the WAC and the WAVES, especially in case of war.

Mr. REES. That may be true in case of war.

Mr. SHORT. Or in time of peace, either. They work down in the Pentagon now and in the Quartermaster Corps. In the armed services they cannot be governed by the same schedules of working hours used in the other Government departments.

Mr. REES. I may say to the gentleman from Missouri that I do not believe many of these people at the Pentagon are working overtime now during peacetime.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REES. I would like to get an answer to my question. I want to know in what kind of service they will be employed while in the Reserves. The program should be explained.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. I would like to answer the question the gentleman put a moment ago.

Mr. REES. No. I want an answer to this question. When these women join what we call the Reserves, they will join the Reserves, then what do they do? What specific training is outlined as it relates to the armed forces?

Mr. BROOKS. I will answer the question. If they are on a Reserve status, they will immediately be called into active duty for a certain period of time. They continue to work as they have been doing as an integral or component part of the Army or Navy, Air Force, or Marine Corps.

Mr. REES. What I am asking is this: Here is a woman who works down here in a store, she joins the Reserves; does she continue to work in the store or what does she do? If she takes training for armed forces, what is that training?

Mr. BROOKS. She stays in the store like any other reservist would until she is called to active duty. When she is called to active duty, she has an active status. Then she will be put on full time as a reservist on active duty.

Mr. REES. She will be called a year or 2 years from now, as the case may be.

Mr. BROOKS. I suggest to the gentleman it is the same thing as the National Guard or the Reserve Officers Corps. The Reserve officer becomes a Reservist. He is not called to active duty unless he asks for service on extended active duty. When he is called, he puts in full time then in the service.

Mr. REES. That is the point I am making. She is not getting any training in the meantime until she is called. Men in the National Guard are taking training at specific intervals.

Mr. BROOKS. Until she is called.

Mr. REES. No training at all?

Mr. BROOKS. She will get some training.

Mr. REES. What training?

Mr. BROOKS. She will get training along the line of her occupation.

Mr. REES. By whom?

Mr. BROOKS. By the Reserve Corps.

Mr. REES. She will not get any training by the Army, will she, in the meantime?

Mr. BROOKS. If she is in the Army, she will.

Mr. REES. Let us continue talking about the same girl who is working down

here, for instance in Hecht's store. She is a saleswoman. She is taken in the Reserves. What does she do to get training and in what respect?

Mr. BROOKS. Of course, it depends on the character of occupation she has when she is taken in the Reserves.

Mr. REES. Then how is she trained?

Mr. BROOKS. She is trained under rules and regulations set up by the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, or the Secretary of Air. He sets up rules and regulations, qualifications and requirements, just like those for the Officers Reserve Corps.

Mr. REES. She spends a certain length of time in certain training, but we do not know what kind of training.

Mr. BROOKS. As set forth by the respective Secretaries.

Mr. REES. One other question: In reference to these women in the Reserves, can they be called any time during peacetime to work as stenographers in the Pentagon?

Mr. BROOKS. Yes; when they give their consent. Only if they give their consent.

Mr. REES. They can be called at any time to go down to the War or Navy Department and get any kind of job they may be assigned to.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman three additional minutes.

Mr. REES. Take women who are employed in stores, they can be called at any time that the Secretary calls them during peacetime; is that correct?

Mr. BROOKS. No. The gentleman is trying to put a strained construction on the law. They will be called in time of peace only when they agree voluntarily. The gentleman understands that. Whenever she wants to be called and she puts in an application for extended active duty, she may be called, surely. Is there anything wrong about calling when you want to be called?

Mr. REES. Take women who are em- certainly not. That is what I am trying to find out. I am trying to find out whether you are compelling her to go because she is in the Reserves?

Mr. BROOKS. There is no element of force in this Reserve legislation at all. The reservists are called when they want to be called into active service. It is not like the Selective Service Act or a bill that you may have before you perhaps in the next 10 days or 2 weeks. It is nothing like that. I honor the gentleman, his zeal for civil service, and glory in his effort to protect it at every turn.

Mr. REES. That is a different proposition. Unless these people are receiving training for some particular position in case of emergency I do not see what can be accomplished by the proposal. If you want people to do similar tasks as they are now doing, you already have them in the civil service. Again I pay all the tribute in the world to the splendid work women in uniform performed during wartime. But this is a peacetime proposal, as I understand it.

I believe we ought to limit the number. We ought to find out whether these people are to be compelled to enter the service and whether they will receive any

special training before they are called. I do not see anything in this bill in this respect, except naming them as reservists.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REES. I yield to the gentlewoman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does not the gentleman feel it would be very much better to have the women on a permanent basis and then give them training? We should give them the opportunity so that they can be trained.

Mr. REES. I agree, if you are going to use them in the armed forces, they should be trained, but this is just Reserves with no training at all for service in the armed forces.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time. Other than asking permission to place in the RECORD a list of the type and character of jobs which these women in the women's component of the armed forces have performed in the past. I have nothing further to say. But I would like to ask permission to place this list in the RECORD at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

239 Army jobs (with specification serial numbers¹ that have been filled by Wacs;² 222 Army jobs that may be filled by Wacs

[The 17 jobs which have been deleted are Air Force only]

I. TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL

I A—Medical or hospital technical:

- 067. Dental laboratory technician.
- 120. Meat or dairy inspector.
- 149. Pharmacist.
- 196. Sanitary technician.
- 264. X-ray technician.
- 303. Hospital orderly.
- 365. Optician.
- 409. Medical noncommissioned officer.
- 666. First-aid man.
- 673. Medical noncommissioned officer.
- 825. Medical supply, noncommissioned officer.
- 855. Dental technician.
- 858. Medical laboratory technician.
- 859. Pharmacy technician.
- 861. Surgical technician.
- 865. Veterinary pharmacist technician.

I B—Personnel:

- 262. Occupational rehabilitation counselor.
- 263. Psychiatric social worker.
- 275. Classification specialists.³
- 283. Athletic instructor.
- 289. Personnel consultant assistant.
- 290. Personnel technician.
- 298. Job analyst.
- 428. Psychological assistant.
- 659. Technical instructor.

I C—Public relations:

- 274. Public-relations man.
- 399. Reporter.
- 936. Canvasser, recruiting unit.

I D—Physical sciences:

- 160. Physics laboratory assistant.
- 292. Chemist.
- 411. Chemical laboratory assistant.
- 784. Weather observer.

¹ According to S. S. N.'s (specification serial numbers) as listed in War Department T/M 12-427, Military Occupation Classification for Enlisted Personnel, July 1, 1944.

² Of the more than 628 Army specialist jobs filled by enlisted men, 406 are noncombatant and may be filled by Wacs.

³ For WAC units only.

I E—Photography:

- 016. Laboratory technician, V-mail and microfilm.
- 028. Blueprint or photostat operator.
- 017. Photolithographer.
- 134. Laboratory supervisor, motion picture.
- 137. Projectionist, motion picture.
- 152. Photographer.
- 153. Photographer, photoengraving.
- 154. Photographic darkroom man.
- 155. Photographer, portrait.
- 157. Photographer, retouching artist.
- 158. Microfilm equipment repairman.
- 208. Film recorder, motion picture, sound.
- 402. Photographer, news.
- 890. Photo interpreter.
- 941. Camera technician.
- 944. Photographic-laboratory chief.
- 945. Photographic-laboratory technician.

I F—Drafting:

- 070. Draftsman.
- 071. Draftsman, mechanical.
- 076. Draftsman, topographic.
- 109. Lithographic engraver.
- 227. Surveyor.
- 228. Instrumentman, surveying.
- 377. Tracer.
- 387. Cartographer.
- 416. Bookbinder.

I—Miscellaneous:

- 130. Animation artist.
- 267. Translator.
- 284. Actor.
- 296. Artist.
- 320. Interpreter.
- 386. Entertainer.
- 432. Bandsman, clarinet.
- 433. Bandsman, cornet or trumpet.
- 434. Bandsman, drum, bass.
- 436. Bandsman, euphonium or baritone.
- 437. Bandsman, flute or piccolo.
- 438. Bandsman, French horn.
- 439. Bandsman, saxophone.
- 440. Bandsman, trombone.
- 441. Bandsman, tuba.
- 442. Entertainment director.
- 803. Bugler.

II. RADIO AND ELECTRICAL

II G—Radio operation:

- 236. Telegraph operator.
- 514. Radar operator, designated set.
- 755. Radio operator, AGF.
- 766. Radio operator, high-speed.
- 776. Radio operator, low-speed.
- 777. Radio operator, fixed-station.

II H—Radio and electrical repair:

- 078. Electrician.
- 174. Radio repairman.
- 304. Electric-motor repairman.
- 338. Instrument repairman, electrical.
- 415. Transmission man, sound, electrician.
- 425. Tabulating-machine repairman.
- 648. Radio repairman, FM.
- 649. Radio repairman, fixed-station.
- 898. Radio inspector.

III. COMMUNICATIONS

III J—Telephone operation:

- 309. Telephone operator.
- 650. Telephone switchboard operator.

III—Miscellaneous:

- 231. Switchboard installer, Tp and Tg dial.
- 384. Installer, toll Tp and Tg.

IV. MECHANICAL AND TRADE

IV K—Gasoline motor and light machinery repair:

- 012. Electrician, automotive.
- 014. Mechanic, automotive wheel vehicle.
- 029. Boiler inspector.
- 040. Automobile body repairman.
- 078. Electrician.⁴
- 101. Engine lathe operator.
- 114. Machinist.
- 121. Utility repairman.

⁴ Also listed under II H—Radio and electrical repair.

IV K—Gasoline motor and light machinery repair—Continued

- 138. Motorcycle repairman.
- 172. Automobile radiator man.
- 190. Riveter, pneumatic.
- 201. Sheet-metal worker.
- 255. Welder, electric arc.
- 256. Welder, combination.
- 257. Welder, acetylene.
- 319. Tractor, mechanic.
- 334. Welder, spot.
- 341. Shop-maintenance mechanic.
- 343. Burner, acetylene.
- 413. Motor inspector.
- 414. Carburetor specialist.
- 431. Machinist's helper.
- 511. Armorer.
- 535. Balloon-gas handler.
- 747. Army airplane and engine mechanic.
- 813. Motor transportation, noncommissioned officer.
- 903. Weapons mechanic, hand and shoulder.
- 912. Electrician, track and wheel vehicle.
- 928. Automotive equipment mechanic.

IV L—Instrument repair:

- 042. Camera repairman.
- 098. Instrument repairman, not electric.
- 282. Office-machine serviceman.

IV—Miscellaneous:

- 022. Beauty operator.
- 044. Canvas-cover repairman.
- 100. Structural-steel worker.
- 106. Linotype operator.
- 143. Painter, auto.
- 145. Painter, sign.
- 147. Parachute repairman.
- 168. Printer.
- 200. Sewing-machine operator.
- 203. Packing-case maker (cargo packer).
- 204. Shoe repairman.
- 234. Tailor.
- 248. Upholsterer.
- 317. Monotype operator.
- 458. Dog trainer.
- 550. Pigeoner.
- 620. Parachute rigger and repairman.
- 629. Student.
- 651. Platoon sergeant.
- 677. Military policeman.
- 730. Provost sergeant.
- 809. Decontaminating equipment operator.

V. ADMINISTRATIVE AND OFFICE

V M—Clerical and general:

- 032. Chief clerk.
- 055. Clerk general (no typing).
- 056. Mail clerk.
- 128. Duplicating-machine clerk.
- 266. Dispatcher clerk (crew).
- 269. Cashier.
- 355. File clerk.
- 370. Proofreader.
- 391. Librarian.
- 457. Shop clerk.
- 502. Administrative, noncommissioned officer.
- 503. Liaison agent.
- 566. Duty noncom.
- 584. Sergeant major.
- 585. First sergeant.
- 667. Message center clerk.
- 674. Message center chief.
- 675. Messenger.
- 805. Cryptographic technician.
- 806. Code clerk.
- 807. Cryptographer (code compiler).
- 808. Cryptanalyst.
- 818. Railway transportation, noncommissioned officer.
- 998. Administrative inspector.

V N—Clerical typing:

- 247. Typist.
- 272. Key punch machine operator.
- 368. Personnel clerk.
- 405. Clerk-typist.
- 501. Administrative and technical clerk.
- 534. Chaplain's assistant.
- 623. Financial typist clerk.
- 816. Personnel, noncommissioned officer.

- V O—Statistical and financial:
 212. Statistical clerk.
 243. Geodetic computer.
 268. Accountant.
 350. Bookkeeper general.
 390. Auditor.
 622. Financial technical clerk.
 624. Financial clerk.
- V P—Stenography:
 213. Stenographer.
- V Q—Tabulating machine operator:
 400. Tabulating machine operator.
- V R—Teletypewriter operation:
 237. Teletypewriter operator.
 640. Teletypewriter switchboard operator.

VI. MOTOR VEHICLE DRIVERS

- VI S—Driver (light automotive equipment):
 244. Tractor driver (light).
 316. Auto serviceman.
 344. Chauffeur.
 345. Truck driver, light.
 357. Gas and oil man.
 378. Motorcyclist.
 410. Dispatcher, motor vehicle.
 668. Truckmaster.
 699. Ambulance driver.
 929. Automotive equipment operator.

VII. FOOD

- VII T—Cook or baker:
 017. Baker.
 037. Meat cutter.
 060. Cook.
 819. Commissary steward.
 824. Mess sergeant.

VIII. SUPPLY AND STOCK

- VIII U—Supply and stock:
 186. Receiving or shipping checker.
 193. Salvage inspector.
 194. Salvage man.
 195. Shipping clerk.
 242. Toolroom keeper.
 252. Foreman, warehouse.
 323. Stock record clerk.
 324. Stock clerk.
 348. Parts clerk, automobile.
 371. Purchasing agent or buyer.
 373. Sales clerk.
 374. Stock control clerk.
 769. Chief storekeeper.
 815. Ordnance, noncommissioned officer.
 820. Subsistence, noncommissioned officer.
 821. Supply, noncommissioned officer.
 835. Supply clerk.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. It might be well for the gentleman to point out that the Reserves will be identified with a unit, and those units will train, and they will receive training that will prepare them to fill billets that we assign them to in case they are assigned to active duty.

Mr. BROOKS. Yes. I do not think the type of training would necessarily be consonant with the training of the male components of the Army.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. BATES].

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this bill, if it is all we can get. But, if an amendment is offered to make the WAVES and the WAC and the SPARS and the marines a part of the permanent organization, I am for that, too.

Now, I have been pretty close to the personnel problem of the Navy, particularly during the war, and I can speak of the magnificent work that the WAVES and the SPARS and the marines have

done during that particular period of time, because my work has been more closely associated with the Navy. I think these women are entitled to all the plaudits that we can possibly shower upon them.

I have been all over the mainland, out in the far reaches of the Pacific and the Atlantic, and across in the European areas. I have interrogated commanders of the different posts everywhere I have gone, and they have all been loud in their praise of the splendid and magnificent work that these women have done during the war period.

In these days, we are asked to resort to what we call selective service only because we cannot get sufficient male personnel to operate our facilities, to form our fighting battalions, and carry on the activities of every one of our defense agencies. It was proposed by the heads of all our military organizations that the Women's Corps be made part of the permanent organization, and it has been my feeling that we should follow in the footsteps of the Senate in the adoption of the bill making them part of the permanent organization. Whatever happened in the committee, I just do not know, and have never been able to find out. So we have the bill before us today to make the Women's Corps part of the Reserve forces of the United States.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I am sure from my discussions with the gentleman in the past that he is in complete sympathy with the division of personnel application, meaning by that a certain percentage in the Regulars and a certain percentage in the Reserves.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. That is right. We are setting up the Women's Corps in the Reserve organization. They go on duty only when they are called and are paid only when they are called. Of course, we ought to set them up as a reserve organization in order to be ready for any emergency that may develop. On the other hand, I think we are making a great mistake in not making them part of the permanent organization, because we would be able to preserve an organization in the first instance that has rendered magnificent service down through the period of the wartime, whereas by the adoption of this bill we are in fact destroying the Women's Reserve Corps and are killing the incentive for women who are willing to give of their time and their lives as they look forward to the future, having security in mind, giving all of their services to the country where we feel they are needed; we feel they are needed because those in charge of our military organizations from the top down, those in command, speak eloquently of not only the services they have rendered but the need for these women in the permanent organizations of the country.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Is it not a fact that every military leader that

appeared before our committee advocated that the women be permitted to enlist as part of the Regular Establishment?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. That is right.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Is it not a further fact that General Bradley and General Paul stated that they presently had requests from their theater commanders overseas and in this country for more than 30,000 women?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Every commanding officer from the commanding general down, in both the Army and Navy, has pleaded for permanent legislation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. How can the gentleman vote for a draft of 19-year-old boys to fill places that we refuse to let women voluntarily fill.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. It is going to be pretty difficult.

When you stop to think of the sacrifices these girls have made in the hospitals of the country and outside the boundaries of this country, you cannot help but have a kind word for the great job they have done during this war. I think they ought to become a part of the permanent organization.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The hearings reflect that Secretary Forrestal, General Eisenhower, General Bradley, General Vandenberg, Admiral Denfeld, and all the other expert witnesses we had were asked if they did not think we could get by on the Reserve proposal, and without exception those men vetoed the Reserve proposal and advocated taking these women into the Regular Establishment.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. That is right. I have not heard one bit of opposition from anybody in the Military Establishment to placing the Women's Corps in the permanent organization.

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. EVINS. Would the gentleman point out that unless this legislation is passed we will lose the services of the WAC on July 1 of this year?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Yes; we know that. That is why we have to accept this temporary legislation; but if such an amendment is offered on the floor to make them part of the permanent forces, I am going to support the permanent legislation. The Women's Reserve Corps goes out of existence altogether on July 1, and because it is going out of existence we have already lost thousands of our most competent women.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SHORT. I think all of us will join the gentleman in the high praise and tribute he has paid to the women who served in our armed services. I will even say that I do not think our committee ever had two more intelligent and capable witnesses before it than Colonel Hobby and her successor, Mary Hallaren. I join with the gentleman in that, but

from a realistic point of view the gentleman must know that it would have been very difficult if not impossible ever to have gotten a rule to consider this measure had we put them into the Regular Establishment.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I do not know whether we could have gotten a rule or not.

Mr. SHORT. We had difficulty getting a rule to bring in this bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. We have it here now.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. We have no right to abrogate our right and authority on the floor of this House. If we believe they ought to become a part of the Regular organization, then we ought to have courage enough to come out on the floor of the House and be given an opportunity to speak our piece. That is the way I feel.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. If the gentleman will yield for a question, may I say that whatever realistic problems we might have had in getting this legislation to the floor of the House, we do have a rule now, and the fact is that an amendment is going to be offered which will carry out the recommendations of all of our military people and the House should adopt the amendment of the gentleman from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. That is right. Besides, the bill has already gone through the Senate and it is here today where it can be amended. That amendment, I understand, is going to be offered by the gentleman from Maine [Mrs. SMITH]. I am for that amendment.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. If we leave the bill as it is written, then we very likely will not be able to get the personnel that we need in the Reserves.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. That is right, and we will destroy the whole organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has again expired.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New York [Mr. ANDREWS].

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Mr. Chairman, I think the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. SHORT] earlier in the day covered the situation perfectly. I can add very little to what he said. There are three groups of Members of the House who entertain a certain attitude toward this bill. First there are those who oppose women in the services. I would like to say to the distinguished gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES] in that connection that the situation is not unlike that in your own congressional offices. A great many Members of Congress like to have a woman secretary, and they prefer an enlightened woman secretary who knows the business of their district. The situation in that respect can be understood better when we realize that there are 8,000 of these women who are filling responsible positions in the departments. They receive some military indoctrination beforehand. If these 8,000 women do not serve to some extent, men must take their places. Even all civilian em-

ployees do not want to go to Germany, Japan, or some other outlandish base with the Air Force.

As to the difference of opinion between those who favor putting women into the Regular service and into the Reserves, those of us who favor the Reserves very strongly realize we are not changing the status of the women. They will have these benefits under the Retirement Act. I want to remind the proponents who favor putting women into the Regular service that during the past year or two Congress by its act increased the Regular commissions in the Army and Air Corps by only 25,000. One hundred and seventy thousand Reserve officers, many of whom fought in this war, applied for these 25,000 Regular Army commissions. Over 120,000 young male Reserve officers were denied commissions in the Regular services at the very time when you proponents who favor putting the women in the Regular service say that you will dish out so many Regular commissions to women in the face of the fact that these young men who fought during the war were denied those commissions.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. It makes no difference whether or not these officers have applied for commissions in the active service. The number of officers that can be commissioned depends on the strength of the service and the strength of our Women's Reserve Corps determines altogether the number of officers who are going to serve in the Women's Reserve Corps. It has no relation whatever to the number of applications of male officers for active duty in the Army or Navy or any other part of the military organization. They have nothing in common with each other. Therefore, the gentleman's argument falls flat.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

When a female officer in the Organized Reserve is called to active duty, that means that there will be one less male officer.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. But she will only be called to active duty when the personnel strength of the Women's Reserve Corps is large enough to justify her being called to active duty.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CLASON].

Mr. CLASON. When this bill was before the committee for consideration, I refused to vote in favor of its adoption. That is, the House bill. I did so because I believe that these young women are entitled to make a service career out of the different branches of the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps, just as much as the men are. To say that they shall serve voluntarily and for short periods of time is practically to deny them the right to serve at all, because no young person who is a good stenographer, nobody who has any capabilities, is going to take on a job that may last but 3 months or 6 months or 9 months, and with no opportunity for advancement. They

have performed well in peace as well as in war. Persons who are generals—and I am not going to name them—persons who are members of the corps, the young women themselves, feel very badly about this House bill. They have told me so, just as they have told many of you. They called me on the telephone today. I feel that we ought to adopt the Smith amendment to the House bill and give the young women a permanent status in the Regular armed services.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CLASON] has expired.

All time has expired.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1947."

TITLE I

ESTABLISHMENT OF WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS, REGULAR ARMY

SEC. 101. Effective the date of enactment of this title, there is established in the Regular Army a Women's Army Corps, which shall perform such services as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

SEC. 102. (a) The authorized commissioned, warrant, and enlisted strengths of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall, from time to time, be determined by the Secretary of War, within the authorized commissioned, warrant, and enlisted strengths of the Regular Army, but shall not exceed 2 percent of such authorized Regular Army strengths, respectively.

(b) There is authorized a strength of 51,000 active list commissioned officers in the Regular Army, exclusive of the numbers authorized by law for the Army Nurse Corps, the Women's Medical Specialist Corps, professors of the United States Military Academy, and any numbers authorized by special provisions of law providing for officers in designated categories as additional numbers.

SEC. 103. (a) From the officers permanently commissioned in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, the Secretary of War shall select to serve during his pleasure, but normally not to exceed 4 years, one officer to be Director of the Women's Army Corps who shall be adviser to the Secretary of War on Women's Army Corps matters, and who, without vacation of her permanent grade, shall have the temporary rank, pay, and allowances of a colonel while so serving; one officer to be Deputy Director thereof, who if permanently commissioned in a lower grade shall, without vacation of her permanent grade, have the temporary rank, pay, and allowances of a lieutenant colonel while so serving; and from among officers of the Women's Army Corps (including Women's Army Corps officers of the Army of the United States or any component thereof serving on extended active duty) the Secretary of War shall select to serve during his pleasure such number of officers as he may determine necessary to fill positions designated by him in the administration and training of the Women's Army Corps, who, if permanently commissioned in a lower grade shall, without vacation of permanent grade, have the temporary rank, pay, and allowances of lieutenant colonel or major while so serving, as the Secretary of War may determine: *Provided*, That after July 1, 1952, such officers shall be selected from among commissioned officers in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel or major, except the Director and Deputy Director who shall be selected from among officers in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel: *And provided further*, That prior to July 1, 1952, the Secretary of War may extend that date one time

until such later date as he may select for that purpose but such later date shall not be later than July 1, 1956.

(b) Unless entitled to higher retired rank or pay under any provision of law, each such commissioned officer who shall have served for 4 years as Director or Deputy Director of such corps shall upon retirement be retired with the rank held by her while so serving, shall receive retired pay at the rate prescribed by law computed on the basis of the base and longevity pay which she would receive if serving on active duty with such rank, and if thereafter recalled to active service shall be recalled in such rank.

SEC. 104. (a) Commissioned officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from female citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 21 years and who possess such qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

(b) Except as modified or otherwise provided by express provisions of law, original appointments of officers in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be made from among qualified female persons in the manner now or hereafter prescribed by law for appointment of male persons in the Regular Army except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army.

(c) Officers shall be permanently commissioned in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army in grades from second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel, inclusive. The authorized number in permanent grade of lieutenant colonel shall be such as the Secretary of War shall from time to time determine but shall not exceed 10 percent of the total authorized commissioned strength of such corps.

(d) (1) During the interim between the date of enactment of this title and January 1, 1948, officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be promotion-list officers as contemplated in Public Law 281, Seventy-ninth Congress, approved December 28, 1945, as amended. Effective January 1, 1948, the names of all active-list commissioned officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be carried on a separate promotion list known as the Women's Army Corps promotion list and such officers shall be promotion-list officers as that term is defined under the laws then in effect. On January 1, 1948, the Women's Army Corps promotion list hereinabove described shall be established by entering thereon the names of the officers concerned without change in the order of their precedence on the promotion list contemplated in Public Law 281, Seventy-ninth Congress, approved December 28, as amended.

(2) Except as otherwise prescribed in this title or some other express provision of law, the respective provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating (1) to the procurement, promotion, and elimination from the active list by retirement or discharge of "promotion list officers" and (2) to "promotion lists" as the terms "promotion list officers" and "promotion list" are from time to time defined by law, are hereby made applicable to the officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army and to the Women's Army Corps promotion list, respectively.

(3) Effective January 1, 1948, and within the limitations prescribed in this title, the Secretary of War shall prescribe the authorized numbers in each of the several commissioned grades in the Women's Army Corps promotion list under the provisions of law applicable to promotion lists generally. Officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be permanently promoted to the grades of first lieutenant, cap-

tain, and major, as now or hereafter prescribed for promotion to such grades of promotion list officers as that term is from time to time defined by law, including any special provisions pertaining to promotion to fill initial requirements in such grades on or about July 1, 1948. Officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be promoted to and appointed in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel in the Regular Army only when a vacancy exists in the number of lieutenant colonels authorized for the Women's Army Corps promotion list and such officers shall be appointed in that grade only when selected and recommended for that grade by a selection board under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War.

(4) Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of War any selection board convened to consider and recommend officers of the Women's Army Corps for promotion to any grade may contain officers of the Women's Army Corps holding permanent or temporary appointment in any grade above major.

(5) Officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be eliminated from the active list and retired or separated, as the case may be, under the provisions of law now or hereafter applicable to promotion-list officers generally, and they shall receive retired pay or severance pay, whichever is applicable, computed as provided under such law for promotion list officers generally: *Provided*, That any officer of the Women's Army Corps in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be retained on the active list until that date which is 30 days after the date upon which 30 "years' service" is completed: *Provided further*, That any officer of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel, who is serving in the temporary grade of colonel by virtue of occupying the position of Director of said corps, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of War, be retained on the active list while serving in such temporary grade: *Provided further*, That on and after June 30, 1953, each officer of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army, heretofore or hereafter appointed in the permanent grade of major who is not retired or separated at an earlier date under other provisions of law, shall be eliminated from the active list on that date which is 30 days after the date upon which she completes 25 "years' service," unless she is appointed in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel in the Regular Army before that date: *And provided further*, That the term "years' service" as used in this paragraph shall be construed to include the identical service defined by law to be included in that term under the law now or hereafter applicable to eliminations from the active list of promotion-list officers generally.

(e) The Secretary of War shall prescribe the military authority which commissioned officers of the Women's Army Corps may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which they may be assigned.

(f) The Secretary of War under the circumstances and in accordance with regulations prescribed by the President, may terminate the commission of any officer appointed in the Women's Army Corps.

SEC. 105. Under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe, female citizens of the United States may be appointed in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, in the permanent grade of warrant officer (junior grade) and in the permanent grade of chief warrant officers under the provisions of law now or hereafter applicable to appointment of male persons in such permanent warrant officer grades in the Regular Army.

SEC. 106. (a) Original enlistments and re-enlistments in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army, from among female per-

sons who possess such qualifications as the Secretary of War may prescribe, may be accepted under applicable provisions of law which govern original enlistments and re-enlistments in the Regular Army of male persons except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army: *Provided*, That no person shall be enlisted in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army who has not attained the age of 18 years: *And provided further*, That no person under the age of 21 years shall be enlisted in such corps without the written consent of her parents or guardian, if any.

(b) The Secretary of War, under such regulations as he may prescribe, may terminate the enlistment of any enlisted woman in the Women's Army Corps, and each person whose enlistment is so terminated shall be discharged from the Army.

SEC. 107. Except as otherwise specifically provided, all laws now or hereafter applicable to male commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted men of the Regular Army; to former male commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted men of the Regular Army, and to their dependents and beneficiaries, shall in like cases be applicable, respectfully, to commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted women of the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, to former commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted women of the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, and to their dependents and beneficiaries except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps: *Provided*, That the husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel of the Regular Army shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such officers and enlisted personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

SEC. 108. Effective the date of enactment of this title, Public Law 281, Seventy-ninth Congress (approved Dec. 28, 1945; 59 Stat. 663), as amended (Public Law 670, 79th Cong., and Public Law 61, 80th Cong.), is hereby further amended as follows:

(a) Section 4 of said act is amended by changing the period at the end of said section to a colon and adding after said colon the following: "*Provided*, That female citizens of the United States may be appointed as officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army under like conditions as those prescribed herein for appointment of male persons as officers in the Regular Army except that they may be appointed in the grades prescribed in section 5 of this act even though such grades be higher than those in which they served as officers in the Women's Army Corps of the Army of the United States."

(b) So much of section 5 of said act as reads "(a) Persons appointed in arms or services of the Regular Army, the officers of which are on the promotion list," is hereby amended to read: "(a) Persons appointed in arms or services of the Regular Army, the officers of which are on the promotion list, including persons appointed in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army."

SEC. 109. (a) Effective the date of enactment of this title, the appointment of women in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army of the United States and the enlistment of women in the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army of the United States shall be authorized.

(b) Except as otherwise specifically provided, all laws now or hereafter applicable to male commissioned officers and former commissioned officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps, to enlisted men and former enlisted men of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and to their dependents and beneficiaries, shall in

like cases be applicable, respectively, to female commissioned officers and former commissioned officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps, to enlisted women and former enlisted women of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and to their dependents and beneficiaries, except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps in the Officers' and Enlisted Reserve Corps: *Provided*, That the husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel of any of the Reserve components of the Army of the United States shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

(c) Appointments of women in the Officers' Reserve Corps may be made by the President in grades from lieutenant colonel to second lieutenant, inclusive, from female citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 21 years and who possess such qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War: *Provided*, That any person who has served satisfactorily as the commanding officer (Director) of the Women's Army Corps established by act of July 1, 1943 (57 Stat. 371), or as the Director of the Women's Army Corps created by this title, may, if otherwise qualified, be appointed in such Reserve Corps in the grade of colonel: *And provided further*, That women specialists (such as scientists and technical experts) who possess such qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War may be initially appointed in the Officers' Reserve Corps in such grades as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War in accordance with regulations prescribed by him.

(d) Enlistments of women in the Enlisted Reserve Corps may be accepted under the provisions of law now or hereafter applicable to enlistments of male persons in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, under such regulations, in such grades or ratings, and for such periods of time as may be prescribed by the Secretary of War.

(e) The President may form any or all female members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps into such organizations and units as he may prescribe.

TITLE II

ENLISTMENT AND APPOINTMENT OF WOMEN IN THE REGULAR NAVY AND MARINE CORPS AND THE NAVAL AND MARINE CORPS RESERVE

SEC. 201. All laws or parts of laws which now or hereafter authorize enlistments in the Regular Navy and which now or hereafter authorize appointments of commissioned and warrant officers in the Regular Navy shall, subject to the provisions of this title, be construed to include authority to enlist and appoint women in the Regular Navy: *Provided*, That no woman shall be enlisted in the Regular Navy or Naval Reserve who has not attained the age of 18 years: *And provided further*, That no woman under the age of 21 years shall be enlisted in the Regular Navy or Naval Reserve without the written consent of her parents or guardians, if any.

SEC. 202. The number of enlisted women on the active list of the Regular Navy at any one time shall not exceed 2 percent of the enlisted strength now or hereafter authorized for the active list of the Regular Navy. The number of commissioned and warrant women officers on the active list of the Regular Navy at any one time shall not exceed 10 percent of the authorized number of enlisted women of the Regular Navy.

SEC. 203. Women commissioned in the Regular Navy under the provisions of this title shall not have permanent commissioned grade or rank on the active list of the Regular Navy above that of commander. The

number of women officers on the active list of the line of the Regular Navy in the permanent grades of commander and lieutenant commander shall not exceed 10 percent and 20 percent, respectively, of the number of women officers on the active list of the line of the Regular Navy above commissioned warrant grade at any one time. Computations to determine such numbers shall be made as of January 1 of each year. Upon determining such numbers, the Secretary of the Navy may further determine the number, which may be a lesser number, of women officers on the active list of the line of the Regular Navy which may serve in each of such grades and the numbers so further determined shall be held and considered as the authorized numbers until subsequent computations and determinations are made. No woman officer of the Regular Navy shall be reduced in grade or pay, or be separated from the active list, as the result of any such computation or determination.

SEC. 204. All original appointments of women to commissioned grade or rank in the Regular Navy above the grade of commissioned warrant officer, other than appointments effected pursuant to the act of April 18, 1946 (60 Stat. 92), as now or hereafter amended, shall be in the grade or rank of ensign or lieutenant (junior grade) at the discretion of the President. Such appointees shall be female citizens of the United States who on July 1 of the year in which appointed are over 21 and under 30 years of age. No person shall be appointed pursuant to this section until she shall have established her mental, moral, educational, professional, and physical qualifications to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Navy.

SEC. 205. From the women officers serving in the grade or rank of lieutenant commander or above, one woman officer may be detailed to duty in the Bureau of Naval Personnel as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel. She shall have the rank of captain while so serving, and shall be entitled to pay and allowances as are now or may be hereafter prescribed by law for a captain of the Regular Navy, and her regular status as a commissioned officer in the Navy shall not be disturbed by reason of such detail.

SEC. 206. (a) Except as otherwise prescribed in this title, the respective provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to the promotion by selection of line officers of the Regular Navy not restricted in the performance of duty and to the advancement by selection of staff officers of the Regular Navy which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this title are hereby made applicable to women officers of the Regular Navy.

(b) A woman officer of the grade or rank of ensign in the Regular Navy shall be eligible for promotion or advancement to the grade or rank of lieutenant (junior grade) on the third anniversary of the date of rank stated in her appointment to the grade or rank of ensign.

(c) Selection boards for the recommendations of women officers of the Regular Navy for promotion in grade or for advancement in rank shall consist of nine officers of the line or appropriate staff corps of the Regular Navy. The Secretary of the Navy shall determine the composition of such boards.

(d) Women lieutenant commanders, lieutenants, and lieutenants (junior grade) of the line of the Regular Navy shall become eligible for consideration by a selection board for promotion to the next higher grade in the fiscal year on June 30 of which they will have completed 4, 4, and 3 years, respectively, of service in their grades and shall retain such eligibility until recommended for promotion in the approved report of a board on selection or until separated from the active list. In computing such service in grade, an officer appointed pursuant to the act of April 18, 1946 (60 Stat. 92), as now or hereafter amended, shall be credited in

the grade to which so appointed with all active service from the date of rank stated in her appointment in that grade while an officer of the Naval Reserve, exclusive of service in such grade under a temporary appointment which, by its terms, was for a period of limited duration; in each other instance, service in grade shall be computed from the date of rank stated in the appointment to the grade concerned.

(e) Women officers of the staff corps of the Regular Navy shall have as their running mates women officers of the line of the Regular Navy who shall be assigned in the manner prescribed by law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to the assignment of running mates to male staff officers of the Regular Navy.

(f) A woman staff officer of the Regular Navy shall become eligible for consideration for recommendation for advancement to the next higher rank when the President approves the report of a line selection board in which the running mate of such staff officer or a woman line officer junior to such running mate is recommended for promotion to the next higher rank above that held by the staff officer.

(g) The recommendations of the selection boards in the cases of women officers of the line of the Regular Navy shall be based upon their comparative fitness for the duties to which they are assigned in the line of the Regular Navy.

(h) The recommendations of the selection boards in the cases of women officers of each of the respective staff corps of the Regular Navy shall be based upon their comparative fitness for the duties to which they are assigned in each of the respective staff corps of the Regular Navy.

(i) The number to be furnished the appropriate selection board in respect to the promotion of women officers of the line of the Regular Navy to the grades of commander and lieutenant commander shall be determined by the Secretary of the Navy as of the date of the convening of the board and shall be equal to the number of vacancies existing for such officers in the grade concerned plus the estimated number of such vacancies which will occur during the ensuing 12-month period and minus the number of such officers then on the promotion list.

(j) The number to be furnished the appropriate selection board in respect to the promotion of women line officers of the Regular Navy to the grade of lieutenant shall be determined by the Secretary of the Navy as of the date of the convening of the board and shall be equal to the number of women line officers of the Regular Navy of the grade of lieutenant (junior grade) who are eligible for consideration by such board. The board shall recommend such of the eligible officers who, in the opinion of at least two-thirds of the members of the boards, are qualified for promotion and shall so certify in its report. Women line officers recommended for promotion to the grade of lieutenant in the approved report of a board on selection shall become eligible for promotion to that grade on July 1 following the date of approval of the report of the board and, upon promotion, shall be entitled to the pay and allowances of the higher grade from the date of their eligibility for promotion.

(k) Each selection board appointed to recommend women staff officers of the Regular Navy for advancement to the rank of commander or lieutenant commander shall recommend for advancement to the rank concerned in the corps for which it was appointed such eligible officers, in number not to exceed the number furnished it by the Secretary of the Navy, who, in the opinion of at least two-thirds of the members of the board, are best fitted to assume the duties of the next higher rank. The number furnished the appropriate board for each such rank in each corps shall be a fraction of the number

of women officers in the next lower rank of the corps concerned who in that fiscal year first become eligible for consideration for recommendation for advancement to the next higher rank; the numerator of such fraction shall be a number equal to the total number of women line officers recommended for promotion to the rank concerned in the approved report of the immediately preceding line selection board; the denominator shall be a number equal to the number of women line officers eligible in the fiscal year concerned for consideration for recommendation for advancement to the rank concerned, exclusive of those previously passed over in selection for promotion to that rank and of those junior in lineal rank to the junior woman line officer recommended for promotion to that rank in the approved report of the immediately preceding line selection board; if the number so determined be a mixed number and the fraction thereof be one-half or greater, the fraction shall be regarded as a whole number; if such computation produces no whole number, the fraction shall be regarded as a whole number.

(l) Each selection board appointed to recommend women staff officers of the Regular Navy for advancement to the rank of lieutenant shall recommend such of the eligible officers who, in the opinion of at least two-thirds of the members of the board, are qualified for advancement.

(m) Upon promotion to the grade of commander or lieutenant commander, a woman officer of the line of the Regular Navy shall be entitled to the pay and allowances of such grade from the date of the occurrence of the vacancy to which she is promoted to fill.

(n) Each woman staff officer of the Regular Navy recommended for advancement in rank in the approved report of a board on selection shall become eligible for advancement to the rank for which recommended on the date that the line officer who is to be her running mate in such rank becomes eligible for promotion to that rank and, upon promotion, shall be entitled to the pay and allowances of the higher rank from the date upon which she becomes eligible for advancement thereto.

(o) Women officers of the line or staff corps of the Regular Navy shall not increase the authorized number of commissioned officers of the line or staff corps concerned nor shall women officers of the grades of chief pay clerk, pay clerk, and acting pay clerk increase the authorized number of officers of those grades. Women line officers of the Regular Navy above the grade of commissioned warrant officer shall be carried in their respective grades as in excess of the numbers otherwise authorized in those grades.

(p) The provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to the promotion of male warrant officers and to advancement to higher pay periods of male commissioned warrant officers shall apply in like manner to women warrant and commissioned warrant officers.

SEC. 207. (a) All provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to retired officers of the Regular Navy and to the retirement or separation from the active list of officers of the Regular Navy, except those provisions relating to the same subject matter provided for in the following subsections of this section, are hereby made applicable to women officers of the Regular Navy.

(b) Each woman officer of the grade or rank of commander in the Regular Navy, or a woman officer serving as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel with the rank of captain, who attains the age of 55 years or completed 30 years' active commissioned service in the Regular Navy and the Naval Reserve, whichever is earlier, shall be retired by the President on the first day of the month following that in which she attains such age or completes such service, and except as otherwise provided by law, shall be placed on the retired list in the permanent rank held

by her at the time of retirement: *Provided*, That a woman commander or lieutenant commander who serves as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel with the rank of captain and who attains the age of 50 years while so serving may be retired by the President on the first day of the month following that in which she ceases to serve as such assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel, and if so retired may be placed on the retired list in the rank authorized by subsection (d).

(c) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy who attains the age of 50 years while serving in the grade or rank of lieutenant commander or below shall be retired by the President on the 1st day of the month following that in which she attains such age, and, except as otherwise provided by law, shall be placed on the retired list in the permanent rank held by her at the time of retirement: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not apply to an officer of the grade or rank of lieutenant commander who is on a promotion list for the grade or rank of commander or to one while serving as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel with the rank of captain.

(d) Any woman officer of the Regular Navy who may be retired for any reason while serving as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel under section 205 of this title, or who subsequent to such service may be retired for any reason while serving in a lower rank, may, if she shall have served $2\frac{1}{2}$ years or more as such assistant, be placed on the retired list, at the discretion of the President, in the rank held by her while serving as such assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel: *Provided*, That the commissioned officer first detailed to duty in the Bureau of Naval Personnel as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel, pursuant to this title, shall without limitation as to the time she shall serve in such capacity, upon retirement be retired with the rank held while so serving, and shall receive retired pay at the rate prescribed by law computed on the basis of the base and longevity pay she would have received if serving on active duty with such rank.

(e) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy who is placed on the retired list in her permanent rank pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) of this section shall receive retired pay at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the active duty pay to which entitled at the time of retirement, multiplied by the number of years for which entitled to credit in the computation of her active duty pay.

(f) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy retired because of physical disability incurred in line of duty shall, if placed on the retired list in a rank higher than her permanent rank, receive retired pay equal to 75 percent of the active duty pay to which she would be entitled if serving, at the time of retirement, on active duty in the rank in which placed upon the retired list.

(g) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy retired for other than physical disability incurred in the line of duty shall, if placed on the retired list in a rank higher than her permanent rank, receive retired pay equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the active duty pay to which she would be entitled if serving, at the time of retirement, on active duty in the rank in which placed upon the retired list, multiplied by the number of years for which entitled to credit in the computation of her active duty pay, not to exceed a total of 75 percent of said active duty pay.

(h) In any instance in which retired pay is computed pursuant to subsection (e) and (g) of this section a fractional year of 6 months or more shall be considered a full year in computing the number of years by which the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent is multiplied.

(i) Women officers of the grade or rank of lieutenant commander in the Regular Navy whose names, on June 30 of the fiscal year in which they complete 20 years' active

commissioned service in the Regular Navy and the Naval Reserve, are not then on a promotion list for advancement to the next higher grade or rank shall be placed on the retired list on that date.

(j) Women officers of the grades or ranks of lieutenant and lieutenant (junior grade) in the Regular Navy whose names on June 30 of the fiscal year in which they complete 13 and 7 years' active commissioned service, respectively, in the Regular Navy and the Naval Reserve are not then on a promotion list for advancement to the next higher grade or rank shall be honorably discharged from the Navy on that date with a lump-sum payment computed on the basis of 2 months active-duty pay at the time of their discharge for each year of commissioned service, but not to exceed a total of 2 years' pay: *Provided*, That for the purpose of this subsection a fractional year of 6 months or more shall be considered a full year in computing the number of years commissioned service upon which to base such lump-sum payment.

(k) The retired pay of a woman officer of the Regular Navy who is commissioned in the Regular Navy pursuant to the act of April 18, 1946 (60 Stat. 92), as now or hereafter amended, shall not be less than 50 percent of her active-duty pay at the time of retirement.

SEC. 208. All provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to male personnel of the Navy, except those provisions relating to the same subject matter specifically provided for in this title, shall, where applicable, be construed to include women.

SEC. 209. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the quantity and kind of clothing and equipment which shall be furnished annually to enlisted women of the Regular Navy, including that required upon their first reporting for duty, and the amount of a cash allowance to be paid to such enlisted women in any case in which such clothing and equipment is not so furnished to them.

SEC. 210. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the manner in which women shall be trained and qualified for military duty in the Regular Navy, the military authority which they may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which they may be assigned.

SEC. 211. All provisions of law relating to pay, leave, money allowances for subsistence and rental of quarters, mileage and other travel allowances, or other allowances, benefits, or emoluments, of male personnel of the Regular Navy are hereby made applicable to women personnel of the Regular Navy: *Provided*, That the husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel of the Regular Navy shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such officers and enlisted personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

SEC. 212. Title V of the Naval Reserve Act of 1938 (56 Stat. 730), as amended, is hereby further amended by striking out sections 501 to 508, inclusive, thereof, and substituting therefor the following:

"Sec. 501. Women may be enlisted or appointed in the Naval Reserve under the provisions of this Act, as now or hereafter amended, in such appropriate ratings, grades, or ranks as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy in the same manner and, except as otherwise provided in this title, under the same circumstances and conditions as men are enlisted or appointed in the Naval Reserve.

"Sec. 502. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the manner in which women enlisted or appointed in the Naval Reserve shall be trained and qualified for military duty, the military authority they may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which they may be assigned.

"Sec. 503. The provisions of this act, as now or hereafter amended, which relate to pay, leave, money allowances for subsistence and rental of quarters, mileage, and other travel allowances, or other allowances, benefits, or emoluments, for male personnel of the Naval Reserve, shall also apply to women personnel of the Naval Reserve: *Provided*, That the husbands of women personnel of the Naval Reserve shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

"Sec. 504. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the quantity and kind of clothing and equipment to be furnished annually to enlisted women of the Naval Reserve, including that required upon their first reporting for active duty, and he may prescribe the amount of cash allowance to be paid to such enlisted women in any case in which such clothing and equipment is not so furnished to them.

"Sec. 505. All members of the Women's Reserve enlisted or appointed under the act of July 30, 1942 (56 Stat. 730), as amended, are hereby transferred to the appropriate components of the Naval Reserve in the same temporary and permanent ratings, grades, or ranks, with the same effective dates and dates of precedence, which they held in the Women's Reserve on the effective date of this act, and such transfer shall be for the unexpired period of their current enlistments or appointments in the Women's Reserve."

Sec. 213. (a) Women may be enlisted or appointed in the Regular Marine Corps under the provisions of this title, and the provisions of this title (except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Marine Corps) are hereby made applicable to women enlisted or appointed in the Regular Marine Corps in the same manner as such provisions apply to women enlisted or appointed in the Regular Navy.

(b) The number of enlisted women on the active list of the Regular Marine Corps at any one time shall not exceed 2 percent of the enlisted strength now or hereafter authorized for the active list of the Regular Marine Corps.

(c) The number of commissioned and warrant women officers on the active list of the Regular Marine Corps at any one time shall not exceed 10 percent of the authorized number of enlisted women of the Regular Marine Corps.

(d) From the women officers serving in the grade of major or above in the Marine Corps, one officer may be detailed to duty in the Personnel Department of the Marine Corps as an assistant to the Director of Personnel, Marine Corps. She shall have the rank of colonel while so serving, and shall be entitled to the pay and allowances as are now or may be hereafter prescribed by law for a colonel of the Regular Marine Corps, and her regular status as a commissioned officer in the Marine Corps shall not be disturbed by reason of such detail. The provisions of section 207 of this title shall apply in the same manner, and under the same relative conditions, to women officers of the Regular Marine Corps who have or shall have served as an assistant to the Director of Personnel of the Marine Corps.

Sec. 214. (a) The Secretary of the Navy, under the circumstances and in accordance with regulations prescribed by the President, may terminate the commission of any woman officer commissioned in the Regular Navy or Marine Corps pursuant to this title.

(b) The Secretary of the Navy, under such regulations as he may prescribe, may terminate the enlistment of any enlisted women in the Regular Navy or Marine Corps, and each such person whose enlistment is so

terminated shall be discharged from the service.

Sec. 215. The provisions of this title shall not be construed to apply to women officers of the Navy Nurse Corps.

Amend the title so as to read: "An act to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for other purposes."

With the following committee amendments:

On page 1, line 4, strike out the words "Integration Act of 1947" and insert in lieu thereof the words "Reserve Act of 1948."

On page 1, line 6, strike out the words "Establishment of Women's Army Corps, Regular Army", and insert in lieu thereof the word "Army."

On page 1, strike out all of lines 7 and 8. Strike out all of pages 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10.

On page 11, strike out lines 1 to 15, inclusive.

On page 11, line 16, strike out the words "Sec. 109" and insert in lieu thereof the words "Sec. 101."

On page 12, lines 6 and 7, strike out the words "Women's Army Corps" and insert in lieu thereof the following "such female persons."

On page 12, line 20, strike out the word "War" and insert in lieu thereof the words "the Army."

On page 12, lines 23 and 24, strike out the words "or as the Director of the Women's Army Corps created by this title."

On page 13, line 4, strike out the word "War" and insert in lieu thereof the words "the Army."

On page 13, line 6, strike out the word "War" and insert in lieu thereof the words "the Army."

On page 13, line 13, strike out the word "War" and insert in lieu thereof the words "the Army."

On page 13, line 16, after the period add the following new section:

"Sec. 102. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 2a of the act of July 25, 1947 (Public Law 239, 80th Cong.), neither (1) the act of July 1, 1943 (57 Stat. 371), nor (2) the act of September 22, 1941 (55 Stat. 728, ch. 414), as amended, insofar as it pertains to officers of the Women's Army Corps heretofore appointed thereunder, shall be repealed until that date which is 12 months after the date of enactment of this act."

On page 13, strike out lines 18, 19, and 20, and insert in lieu thereof the following "Navy and Marine Corps."

On page 13, strike out lines 21 to 25, inclusive.

Strike out all of pages 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27.

On page 28, strike out lines 1 and 2.

On page 28, line 3, strike out the words "Sec. 212", and insert in lieu thereof the words "Sec. 201."

On page 28, line 5, after the word "out", insert the words "the present caption and."

On page 28, immediately preceding the words "Sec. 501", insert the following: "Title V—Women in the Naval Reserve."

On page 28, lines 9 and 10, strike out the words "ratings, grades, or ranks" and insert in lieu thereof the words "ratings or grades."

On page 28, line 18, delete the period after the word "assigned" and insert in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "Provided, That they shall not be assigned to duty in aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions nor shall they be assigned to duty on vessels of the Navy except hospital ships and naval transports."

On page 29, line 17, strike out the words "ratings, grades, or rank" and insert in lieu thereof the words "ratings or grades."

On page 29, line 19, strike out the word "this" and insert in lieu thereof the word "the."

On page 29, strike out lines 20, 21, and 22, inclusive, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"Women's Armed Services Reserve Act of 1948, and such transfer of enlisted personnel shall be for a period to be determined by the Secretary of the Navy."

On page 29, line 23, strike out the words "Sec. 213", and insert in lieu thereof the words "Sec. 202."

On page 29, line 24, strike out the word "Regular."

On page 29, line 24, after the word "Corps", add the word "Reserve."

On page 30, line 3, strike out the word "Regular."

On page 30, line 3, after the word "Corps", add the word "Reserve."

On page 30, line 4, strike out the words "Regular Navy" and insert in lieu thereof the words "Naval Reserve."

On page 30, strike out all of lines 5 to 25, inclusive.

On page 31, strike out lines 1 to 15, inclusive.

On page 31, immediately following line 15, add a new title as follows:

"TITLE III

"AIR FORCE

"Sec. 301. (a) Effective on the date of enactment of this title, the appointment and enlistment of women in the Officers' and Enlisted Section of the Air Force Reserve shall be authorized.

(b) Except as otherwise specifically provided, all laws now applicable to male commissioned officers and former commissioned officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps, to enlisted men and former enlisted men of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and to their dependents and beneficiaries, shall be applicable, respectively, to female commissioned officers and former commissioned officers, to enlisted women and former enlisted women, of the Air Force Reserve, and to their dependents and beneficiaries, except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to such female persons: *Provided*, That the husbands of such female persons shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such female persons shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

(c) Appointments of women to commissioned grade in the Air Force Reserve may be made by the President alone in grades from lieutenant colonel to second lieutenant, inclusive, from female citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 21 years and who possess such other qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Air Force: *Provided*, That any person who has served satisfactorily in the temporary grade of colonel in the Women's Army Corps established by act of July 1, 1943 (57 Stat. 371), may, if otherwise qualified, be appointed in the grade of colonel in the Air Force Reserve.

(d) Enlistments of women in the Air Force Reserve may be accepted under the provisions of law now applicable to enlistments of male persons in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, under such regulations, in such grades, or ratings, and for such periods of time as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Air Force.

(e) The President may form any or all such female persons of the Air Force Reserve into such organizations and units as he may prescribe.

(f) The Secretary of the Air Force shall prescribe the military authority which any female person of the Air Force Reserve may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which such female persons may be assigned: *Provided*, That female persons of the Air Force shall not be assigned to aircraft while such aircraft are engaged in combat missions."

Amend the title so as to read: "An act to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for other purposes."

Mr. SHAFFER (interrupting the reading of the bill). Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the further reading of the bill and the committee amendments, and I move the adoption of the committee amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SHAFFER]?

There was no objection.

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Maine.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. SMITH of Maine: Strike out all after the enacting clause of Senate 1641 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That this act may be cited as the 'Women's Armed Services Reserve Act of 1948.'"

"TITLE I"

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with further reading of the amendment.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BROOKS. The Committee just voted a committee amendment which strikes out the amendment proposed by the gentlewoman from Maine, and which approves the House Armed Services Committee version of this bill. Now, is it in order to vote again on the Senate version of the bill, which has been stricken out by the House under those circumstances?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Maine is different from the Senate version or the House bill.

Without objection, the further reading of the amendment will be dispensed with, and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There was no objection.

The amendment is as follows:

That this act may be cited as the "Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948."

TITLE I

ESTABLISHMENT OF WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS, REGULAR ARMY

SEC. 101. Effective the date of enactment of this title, there is established in the Regular Army a Women's Army Corps, which shall perform such services as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Army.

SEC. 102. (a) The authorized commissioned, warrant, and enlisted strengths of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall, from time to time, be determined by the Secretary of the Army, within the authorized commissioned, warrant, and enlisted strengths of the Regular Army, but shall not exceed 2 percent of such authorized Regular Army strengths, respectively.

(b) There is authorized a strength of 51,000 active-list commissioned officers in the Regular Army, exclusive of the numbers au-

thorized by law for the Army Nurse Corps, the Women's Medical Specialist Corps, professors of the United States Military Academy, and any numbers authorized by special provisions of law providing for officers in designated categories as additional numbers.

SEC. 103. (a) From the officers permanently commissioned in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, the Secretary of the Army shall select to serve during his pleasure, but normally not to exceed 4 years, one officer to be Director of the Women's Army Corps who shall be adviser to the Secretary of the Army on Women's Army Corps matters, and who, without vacation of her permanent grade, shall have the temporary rank, pay, and allowances of a colonel while so serving; one officer to be Deputy Director thereof, who, if permanently commissioned in a lower grade, shall, without vacation of her permanent grade, have the temporary rank, pay, and allowances of a lieutenant colonel while so serving; and from among officers of the Women's Army Corps (including Women's Army Corps officers of the Army of the United States or any component thereof serving on extended active duty) the Secretary of the Army shall select to serve during his pleasure such number of officers as he may determine necessary to fill positions designated by him in the administration and training of the Women's Army Corps, who, if permanently commissioned in a lower grade, shall, without vacation of permanent grade, have the temporary rank, pay, and allowances of lieutenant colonel or major while so serving, as the Secretary of the Army may determine: *Provided*, That after July 1, 1952, such officers shall be selected from among commissioned officers in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel or major, except the Director and Deputy Director, who shall be selected from among officers in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel: *And provided further*, That prior to July 1, 1952, the Secretary of the Army may extend that date one time until such later date as he may select for that purpose, but such later date shall not be later than July 1, 1956.

(b) Unless entitled to higher retired rank or pay under any provision of law, each such commissioned officer who shall have served for 4 years as Director or Deputy Director of such corps shall, upon retirement, be retired with the rank held by her while so serving, shall receive retired pay at the rate prescribed by law computed on the basis of the base and longevity pay which she would receive if serving on active duty with such rank, and if thereafter recalled to active service shall be recalled in such rank.

SEC. 104. (a) Commissioned officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from female citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 21 years and who possess such qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Army.

(b) Except as modified or otherwise provided by express provisions of law, original appointments of officers in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be made from among qualified female persons in the manner now or hereafter prescribed by law for appointment of male persons in the Regular Army except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army.

(c) Officers shall be permanently commissioned in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army in grades from second lieutenant to lieutenant colonel, inclusive. The authorized number in permanent grade of lieutenant colonel shall be such as the Secretary of the Army shall from time to time determine, but shall not exceed 10 percent of the total authorized commissioned strength of such corps.

(d) (1) During the interim between the date of enactment of this title and January 1, 1948, officers of the Women's Army Corps

of the Regular Army shall be promotion-list officers as contemplated in Public Law 281, Seventy-ninth Congress, approved December 28, 1945, as amended. Effective January 1, 1948, the names of all active-list commissioned officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be carried on a separate promotion list known as the Women's Army Corps promotion list and such officers shall be promotion-list officers as that term is defined under the laws then in effect. On January 1, 1948, the Women's Army Corps promotion list hereinabove described shall be established by entering thereon the names of the officers concerned without change in the order of their precedence on the promotion list contemplated in Public Law 281, Seventy-ninth Congress, approved December 28, as amended.

(2) Except as otherwise prescribed in this title or some other express provision of law, the respective provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating (1) to the procurement, promotion, and elimination from the active list by retirement or discharge of "promotion-list officers" and (2) to "promotion lists" as the terms "promotion-list officers" and "promotion list" are from time to time defined by law, are hereby made applicable to the officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army and to the Women's Army Corps promotion list, respectively.

(3) Effective January 1, 1948, and within the limitations prescribed in this title, the Secretary of the Army shall prescribe the authorized numbers in each of the several commissioned grades in the Women's Army Corps promotion list under the provisions of law applicable to promotion lists generally. Officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be permanently promoted to the grades of first lieutenant, captain, and major, as now or hereafter prescribed for promotion to such grades of promotion-list officers as that term is from time to time defined by law, including any special provisions pertaining to promotion to fill initial requirements in such grades on or about July 1, 1948. Officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be promoted to and appointed in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel in the Regular Army only when a vacancy exists in the number of lieutenant colonels authorized for the Women's Army Corps promotion list and such officers shall be appointed in that grade only when selected and recommended for that grade by a selection board under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Army.

(4) Under regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Army any selection board convened to consider and recommend officers of the Women's Army Corps for promotion to any grade may contain officers of the Women's Army Corps holding permanent or temporary appointment in any grade above major.

(5) Officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army shall be eliminated from the active list and retired or separated, as the case may be, under the provisions of law now or hereafter applicable to promotion-list officers generally, and they shall receive retired pay or severance pay, whichever is applicable, computed as provided under such law for promotion-list officers generally: *Provided*, That any officer of the Women's Army Corps in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Army, be retained on the active list until that date which is 30 days after the date upon which 30 "years' service" is completed: *Provided further*, That any officer of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel, who is serving in the temporary grade of colonel by virtue of occupying the position of Director of said corps, may, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Army, be retained on the active list while serving in such temporary grade: *Provided*:

further, That on and after June 30, 1953, each officer of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army, heretofore or hereafter appointed in the permanent grade of major who is not retired or separated at an earlier date under other provisions of law, shall be eliminated from the active list on that date which is 30 days after the date upon which she completes 25 "years' service," unless she is appointed in the permanent grade of lieutenant colonel in the Regular Army before that date: *And provided further*, That the term "years' service" as used in this paragraph shall be construed to include the identical service defined by law to be included in that term under the law now or hereafter applicable to eliminations from the active list of promotion-list officers generally.

(e) The Secretary of the Army shall prescribe the military authority which commissioned officers of the Women's Army Corps may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which they may be assigned.

(f) The Secretary of the Army under the circumstances and in accordance with regulations prescribed by the President, may terminate the commission of any officer appointed in the Women's Army Corps.

SEC. 105. Under such regulations as the Secretary of the Army may prescribe, female citizens of the United States may be appointed in the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, in the permanent grade of warrant officer (junior grade) and in the permanent grade of chief warrant officer under the provisions of law now or hereafter applicable to appointment of male persons in such permanent warrant officer grades in the Regular Army.

SEC. 106. (a) Original enlistments and reenlistments in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army, from among female persons who possess such qualifications as the Secretary of War may prescribe, may be accepted under applicable provisions of law which govern original enlistments and reenlistments in the Regular Army of male persons except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army: *Provided*, That no person shall be enlisted in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army who has not attained the age of 18 years: *And provided further*, That no person under the age of 21 years shall be enlisted in such corps without the written consent of her parents or guardians, if any.

(b) The Secretary of the Army, under such regulations as he may prescribe, may terminate the enlistment of any enlisted woman in the Women's Army Corps, and each person whose enlistment is so terminated shall be discharged from the Army.

SEC. 107. Except as otherwise specifically provided, all laws now or hereafter applicable to male commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted men of the Regular Army; to former male commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted men of the Regular Army; and to their dependents and beneficiaries, shall in like cases be applicable, respectively, to commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted women of the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, to former commissioned officers, warrant officers, and enlisted women of the Women's Army Corps, Regular Army, and to their dependents and beneficiaries except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps: *Provided*, That the husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel of the Regular Army shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such officers and enlisted personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

SEC. 108. Effective the date of enactment this title, Public Law 281, Seventy-ninth Con-

gress (approved December 28, 1945; 59 Stat. 663), as amended (Public Law 670, 79th Cong., and Public Law 61, 80th Cong.), is hereby further amended as follows:

(a) Section 4 of said act is amended by changing the period at the end of said section to a colon and adding after said colon the following: "*Provided*, That female citizens of the United States may be appointed as officers of the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army under like conditions as those prescribed herein for appointment of male persons as officers in the Regular Army except that they may be appointed in the grades prescribed in section 5 of this act even though such grades be higher than those in which they served as officers in the Women's Army Corps of the Army of the United States."

(b) So much of section 5 of said act as reads "(a) Persons appointed in arms or services of the Regular Army, the officers of which are on the promotion list," is hereby amended to read: "(a) Persons appointed in arms or services of the Regular Army, the officers of which are on the promotion list, including persons appointed in the Women's Army Corps of the Regular Army,".

SEC. 109. (a) Effective the date of enactment of this title, the appointment of women in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the Army of the United States and the enlistment of women in the Enlisted Reserve Corps of the Army of the United States shall be authorized.

(b) Except as otherwise specifically provided, all laws now or hereafter applicable to male commissioned officers and former commissioned officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps, to enlisted men and former enlisted men of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and to their dependents and beneficiaries, shall in like cases be applicable, respectively, to female commissioned officers and former commissioned officers of the Officers' Reserve Corps, to enlisted women and former enlisted women of the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and to their dependents and beneficiaries, except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Women's Army Corps in the Officers' and Enlisted Reserve Corps: *Provided*, That the husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel of any of the Reserve components of the Army of the United States shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

(c) Appointments of women in the Officers' Reserve Corps may be made by the President in grades from lieutenant colonel to second lieutenant, inclusive, from female citizens of the United States who have attained the age of 21 years and who possess such qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Army: *Provided*, That any person who has served satisfactorily as the commanding officer (Director) of the Women's Army Corps established by act of July 1, 1943 (57 Stat. 371), or as the Director of the Women's Army Corps created by this title, may, if otherwise qualified, be appointed in such Reserve Corps in the grade of Colonel: *And provided further*, That women specialists (such as scientists and technical experts) who possess such qualifications as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Army may be initially appointed in the Officers' Reserve Corps in such grades as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Army in accordance with regulations prescribed by him.

(d) Enlistments of women in the Enlisted Reserve Corps may be accepted under the provisions of law now or hereafter applicable to enlistments of male persons in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, under such regulations, in such grades or ratings, and for such periods of time as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Army.

(e) The President may form any or all female members of the Officers' Reserve Corps and the Enlisted Reserve Corps into such organizations and units as he may prescribe.

SEC. 110. The provisions of this act shall be applicable to the Department of the Air Force: *Provided*, That all references therein to the Secretary of the Army, the Department of the Army, the Regular Army, the Organized Reserve Corps, the Officers Reserve Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, and the Organized Reserves, shall be construed for the purposes of this act as referring to the Secretary of the Air Force, the Department of the Air Force, the Regular Air Force, the Air Force Reserve, the officers section of the Air Force Reserve, the enlisted section of the Air Force Reserve, and personnel of the Organized Reserves transferred to the Department of the Air Force, respectively.

TITLE II

ENLISTMENT AND APPOINTMENT OF WOMEN IN THE REGULAR NAVY AND MARINE CORPS AND THE NAVAL AND MARINE CORPS RESERVE

SEC. 201. All laws or parts of laws which now or hereafter authorize enlistments in the Regular Navy and which now or hereafter authorize appointments of commissioned and warrant officers in the Regular Navy shall, subject to the provisions of this title, be construed to include authority to enlist and appoint women in the Regular Navy: *Provided*, That no woman shall be enlisted in the Regular Navy or Naval Reserve who has not attained the age of 18 years: *And provided further*, That no woman under the age of 21 years shall be enlisted in the Regular Navy or Naval Reserve without the written consent of her parents or guardians, if any.

SEC. 202. The number of enlisted women on the active list of the Regular Navy at any one time shall not exceed 2 percent of the enlisted strength now or hereafter authorized for the active list of the Regular Navy. The number of commissioned and warrant women officers on the active list of the Regular Navy at any one time shall not exceed 10 percent of the authorized number of enlisted women of the Regular Navy.

SEC. 203. Women commissioned in the Regular Navy under the provisions of this title shall not have permanent commissioned grade or rank on the active list of the Regular Navy above that of commander. The number of women officers on the active list of the line of the Regular Navy in the permanent grades of commander and lieutenant commander shall not exceed 10 percent and 20 percent, respectively, of the number of women officers on the active list of the line of the Regular Navy above commissioned warrant grade at any one time. Computations to determine such numbers shall be made as of January 1 of each year. Upon determining such numbers, the Secretary of the Navy may further determine the number, which may be a lesser number, of women officers on the active list of the line of the Regular Navy which may serve in each of such grades and the numbers so further determined shall be held and considered as the authorized numbers until subsequent computations and determinations are made. No woman officer of the Regular Navy shall be reduced in grade or pay, or be separated from the active list, as the result of any such computation or determination.

SEC. 204. All original appointments of women to commissioned grade or rank in the Regular Navy above the grade of commissioned warrant officer, other than appointments effected pursuant to the act of April 18, 1946 (60 Stat. 92), as now or hereafter amended, shall be in the grade or rank of ensign or lieutenant (junior grade) at the discretion of the President. Such appointees shall be female citizens of the United States who on July 1 of the year in which appointed are over 21 and under 30 years of age. No person shall be appointed pursuant to this

section until she shall have established her mental, moral, educational, professional, and physical qualifications to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Navy.

SEC. 205. From the women officers serving in the grade or rank of lieutenant commander or above, one woman officer may be detailed to duty in the Bureau of Naval Personnel as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel. She shall have the rank of captain while so serving, and shall be entitled to pay and allowances as are now or may be hereafter prescribed by law for a captain of the Regular Navy, and her regular status as a commissioned officer in the Navy shall not be disturbed by reason of such detail.

SEC. 206. (a) Except as otherwise prescribed in this title, the respective provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to the promotion by selection of line officers of the Regular Navy not restricted in the performance of duty and to the advancement by selection of staff officers of the Regular Navy which are not inconsistent with the provisions of this title are hereby made applicable to women officers of the Regular Navy.

(b) A woman officer of the grade or rank of ensign in the Regular Navy shall be eligible for promotion or advancement to the grade or rank of lieutenant (junior grade) on the third anniversary of the date of rank stated in her appointment to the grade or rank of ensign.

(c) Selection boards for the recommendation of women officers of the Regular Navy for promotion in grade or for advancement in rank shall consist of nine officers of the line or appropriate staff corps of the Regular Navy. The Secretary of the Navy shall determine the composition of such boards.

(d) Women lieutenant commanders, lieutenants, and lieutenants (junior grade) of the line of the Regular Navy shall become eligible for consideration by a selection board for promotion to the next higher grade in the fiscal year on June 30 of which they will have completed 4, 4, and 3 years, respectively, of service in their grades and shall retain such eligibility until recommended for promotion in the approved report of a board on selection or until separated from the active list. In computing such service in grade, an officer appointed pursuant to the act of April 18, 1946 (60 Stat. 92), as now or hereafter amended, shall be credited in the grade to which so appointed with all active service from the date of rank stated in her appointment in that grade while an officer of the Naval Reserve, exclusive of service in such grade under a temporary appointment which, by its terms, was for a period of limited duration; in each other instance, service in grade shall be computed from the date of rank stated in the appointment to the grade concerned.

(e) Women officers of the staff corps of the Regular Navy shall have as their running mates women officers of the line of the Regular Navy who shall be assigned in the manner prescribed by law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to the assignment of running mates to male staff officers of the Regular Navy.

(f) A woman staff officer of the Regular Navy shall become eligible for consideration for recommendation for advancement to the next higher rank when the President approves the report of a line selection board in which the running mate of such staff officer or a woman line officer junior to such running mate is recommended for promotion to the next higher rank above that held by the staff officer.

(g) The recommendations of the selection boards in the cases of women officers of the line of the Regular Navy shall be based upon their comparative fitness for the duties to which they are assigned in the line of the Regular Navy.

(h) The recommendations of the selection boards in the cases of women officers of each

of the respective staff corps of the Regular Navy shall be based upon their comparative fitness for the duties to which they are assigned in each of the respective staff corps of the Regular Navy.

(i) The number to be furnished the appropriate selection board in respect to the promotion of women officers of the line of the Regular Navy to the grades of commander and lieutenant commander shall be determined by the Secretary of the Navy as of the date of the convening of the board and shall be equal to the number of vacancies existing for such officers in the grade concerned plus the estimated number of such vacancies which will occur during the ensuing 12-month period and minus the number of such officers then on the promotion list.

(j) The number to be furnished the appropriate selection board in respect to the promotion of women line officers of the Regular Navy to the grade of lieutenant shall be determined by the Secretary of the Navy as of the date of the convening of the board and shall be equal to the number of women line officers of the Regular Navy of the grade of lieutenant (junior grade) who are eligible for consideration by such board. The board shall recommend such of the eligible officers who, in the opinion of at least two-thirds of the members of the board, are qualified for promotion and shall so certify in its report. Women line officers recommended for promotion to the grade of lieutenant in the approved report of a board on selection shall become eligible for promotion to that grade on July 1 following the date of approval of the report of the board and, upon promotion, shall be entitled to the pay and allowances of the higher grade from the date of their eligibility for promotion.

(k) Each selection board appointed to recommend women staff officers of the Regular Navy for advancement to the rank of commander or lieutenant commander shall recommend for advancement to the rank concerned in the corps for which it was appointed such eligible officers, in number not to exceed the number furnished it by the Secretary of the Navy, who, in the opinion of at least two-thirds of the members of the board, are best fitted to assume the duties of the next higher rank. The number furnished the appropriate board for each such rank in each corps shall be a fraction of the number of women officers in the next lower rank of the corps concerned who in that fiscal year first become eligible for consideration for recommendation for advancement to the next higher rank; the numerator of such fraction shall be a number equal to the total number of women line officers recommended for promotion to the rank concerned in the approved report of the immediately preceding line selection board; the denominator shall be a number equal to the number of women line officers eligible in the fiscal year concerned for consideration for recommendation for advancement to the rank concerned, exclusive of those previously passed over in selection for promotion to that rank and of those junior in lineal rank to the junior woman line officer recommended for promotion to that rank in the approved report of the immediately preceding line selection board; if the number so determined be a mixed number and the fraction thereof be one-half or greater, the fraction shall be regarded as a whole number; if such computation produces no whole number, the fraction shall be regarded as a whole number.

(l) Each selection board appointed to recommend women staff officers of the Regular Navy for advancement to the rank of lieutenant shall recommend such of the eligible officers who, in the opinion of at least two-thirds of the members of the board, are qualified for advancement.

(m) Upon promotion to the grade of commander or lieutenant commander, a woman

officer of the line of the Regular Navy shall be entitled to the pay and allowances of such grade from the date of the occurrence of the vacancy to which she is promoted to fill.

(n) Each woman staff officer of the Regular Navy recommended for advancement in rank in the approved report of a board on selection shall become eligible for advancement to the rank for which recommended on the date that the line officer who is to be her running mate in such rank becomes eligible for promotion to that rank and, upon promotion, shall be entitled to the pay and allowances of the higher rank from the date upon which she becomes eligible for advancement thereto.

(o) Women officers of the line or staff corps of the Regular Navy shall not increase the authorized number of commissioned officers of the line or staff corps concerned nor shall women officers of the grades of chief pay clerk, pay clerk, and acting pay clerk increase the authorized number of officers of those grades. Women line officers of the Regular Navy above the grade of commissioned warrant officer shall be carried in their respective grades as in excess of the numbers otherwise authorized in those grades.

(p) The provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to the promotion of male warrant officers and to advancement to higher pay periods of male commissioned warrant officers shall apply in like manner to women warrant and commissioned warrant officers.

SEC. 207. (a) All provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to retired officers of the Regular Navy and to the retirement or separation from the active list of officers of the Regular Navy, except those provisions relating to the same subject matter provided for in the following subsections of this section, are hereby made applicable to women officers of the Regular Navy.

(b) Each woman officer of the grade or rank of commander in the Regular Navy, or a woman officer serving as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel with the rank of captain, who attains the age of 55 years or completed 30 years' active commissioned service in the Regular Navy and the Naval Reserve, whichever is earlier, shall be retired by the President on the first day of the month following that in which she attains such age or completes such service, and except as otherwise provided by law, shall be placed on the retired list in the permanent rank held by her at the time of retirement: *Provided*, That a woman commander or lieutenant commander who serves as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel with the rank of captain and who attains the age of 50 years while so serving may be retired by the President on the first day of the month following that in which she ceases to serve as such assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel, and if so retired may be placed on the retired list in the rank authorized by subsection (d).

(c) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy who attains the age of 50 years while serving in the grade or rank of lieutenant commander or below shall be retired by the President on the first day of the month following that in which she attains such age, and, except as otherwise provided by law, shall be placed on the retired list in the permanent rank held by her at the time of retirement: *Provided*, That this subsection shall not apply to an officer of the grade or rank of lieutenant commander who is on a promotion list for the grade or rank of commander or to one while serving as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel with the rank of captain.

(d) Any woman officer of the Regular Navy who may be retired for any reason while serving as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel under section 205 of this title, or who subsequent to such service may be retired for any reason while serving in a lower rank, may, if she shall have served 2½ years or more as such assistant, be placed on

the retired list, at the discretion of the President, in the rank held by her while serving as such assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel: *Provided*, That the commissioned officer first detailed to duty in the Bureau of Naval Personnel as an assistant to the Chief of Naval Personnel, pursuant to this title, shall without limitation as to the time she shall serve in such capacity, upon retirement be retired with the rank held while so serving, and shall receive retired pay at the rate prescribed by law computed on the basis of the base and longevity pay she would have received if serving on active duty with such rank.

(e) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy who is placed on the retired list in her permanent rank pursuant to subsection (b) or (c) of this section shall receive retired pay at the rate of 2½ percent of the active-duty pay to which entitled at the time of retirement, multiplied by the number of years for which entitled to credit in the computation of her active-duty pay.

(f) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy retired because of physical disability incurred in line of duty shall, if placed on the retired list in a rank higher than her permanent rank, receive retired pay equal to 75 percent of the active-duty pay to which she would be entitled if serving, at the time of retirement, on active duty in the rank in which placed upon the retired list.

(g) Each woman officer of the Regular Navy retired for other than physical disability incurred in the line of duty shall, if placed on the retired list in a rank higher than her permanent rank, receive retired pay equal to 2½ percent of the active-duty pay to which she would be entitled if serving, at the time of retirement, on active duty in the rank in which placed upon the retired list, multiplied by the number of years for which entitled to credit in the computation of her active-duty pay, not to exceed a total of 75 percent of said active-duty pay.

(h) In any instance in which retired pay is computed pursuant to subsections (e) and (g) of this section, a fractional year of 6 months or more shall be considered a full year in computing the number of years by which the rate of 2½ percent is multiplied.

(i) Women officers of the grade or rank of lieutenant commander in the Regular Navy whose names, on June 30 of the fiscal year in which they complete 20 years' active commissioned service in the Regular Navy and the Naval Reserve, are not then on a promotion list for advancement to the next higher grade or rank shall be placed on the retired list on that date.

(j) Women officers of the grades or ranks of lieutenant and lieutenant (junior grade) in the Regular Navy whose names on June 30 of the fiscal year in which they complete 13 and 7 years' active commissioned service, respectively, in the Regular Navy and the Naval Reserve are not then on a promotion list for advancement to the next higher grade or rank shall be honorably discharged from the Navy on that date with a lump-sum payment computed on the basis of 2 months' active-duty pay at the time of their discharge for each year of commissioned service, but not to exceed a total of 2 years' pay: *Provided*, That for the purpose of this subsection a fractional year of 6 months or more shall be considered a full year in computing the number of years commissioned service upon which to base such lump-sum payment.

(k) The retired pay of a woman officer of the Regular Navy who is commissioned in the Regular Navy pursuant to the act of April 18, 1946 (60 Stat. 92), as now or hereafter amended, shall not be less than 50 percent of her active-duty pay at the time of retirement.

SEC. 208. All provisions of law now existing or hereafter enacted relating to male personnel of the Navy, except those provisions relating to the same subject matter specifically

provided for in this title, shall, where applicable, be construed to include women.

SEC. 209. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the quantity and kind of clothing and equipment which shall be furnished annually to enlisted women of the Regular Navy, including that required upon their first reporting for duty, and the amount of a cash allowance to be paid to such enlisted women in any case in which such clothing and equipment is not so furnished to them.

SEC. 210. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the manner in which women shall be trained and qualified for military duty in the Regular Navy, the military authority which they may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which they may be assigned.

SEC. 211. All provisions of law relating to pay, leave, money allowances for subsistence and rental of quarters, mileage and other travel allowances, or other allowances, benefits, or emoluments, of male personnel of the Regular Navy are hereby made applicable to women personnel of the Regular Navy: *Provided*, That the husbands of women officers and enlisted personnel of the Regular Navy shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such officers and enlisted personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

SEC. 212. Title V of the Naval Reserve Act of 1938 (56 Stat. 730), as amended, is hereby further amended by striking out sections 501 to 508, inclusive, thereof, and substituting therefor the following:

"Sec. 501. Women may be enlisted or appointed in the Naval Reserve under the provisions of this act, as now or hereafter amended, in such appropriate ratings, grades, or ranks as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Navy in the same manner and, except as otherwise provided in this title, under the same circumstances and conditions as men are enlisted or appointed in the Naval Reserve.

"Sec. 502. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the manner in which women enlisted or appointed in the Naval Reserve shall be trained and qualified for military duty, the military authority they may exercise, and the kind of military duty to which they may be assigned.

"Sec. 503. The provisions of this act, as now or hereafter amended, which relate to pay, leave, money allowances for subsistence and rental of quarters, mileage and other travel allowances, or other allowances, benefits, or emoluments, for male personnel of the Naval Reserve, shall also apply to women personnel of the Naval Reserve: *Provided*, That the husbands of women personnel of the Naval Reserve shall not be considered dependents unless they are in fact dependent on their wives for their chief support, and the children of such personnel shall not be considered dependents unless their father is dead or they are in fact dependent on their mother for their chief support.

"Sec. 504. The Secretary of the Navy may prescribe the quantity and kind of clothing and equipment to be furnished annually to enlisted women of the Naval Reserve, including that required upon their first reporting for active duty, and he may prescribe the amount of cash allowance to be paid to such enlisted women in any case in which such clothing and equipment is not so furnished to them.

"Sec. 505. All members of the Women's Reserve enlisted or appointed under the Act of July 30, 1942 (56 Stat. 730), as amended, are hereby transferred to the appropriate components of the Naval Reserve in the same temporary and permanent ratings, grades, or ranks, with the same effective date and dates of precedence, which they held in the Women's Reserve on the effective date of this act,

and such transfer shall be for the unexpired period of their current enlistments or appointments in the Women's Reserve."

SEC. 213. (a) Women may be enlisted or appointed in the Regular Marine Corps under the provisions of this title, and the provisions of this title (except as may be necessary to adapt said provisions to the Marine Corps) are hereby made applicable to women enlisted or appointed in the Regular Marine Corps in the same manner as such provisions apply to women enlisted or appointed in the Regular Navy.

(b) The number of enlisted women on the active list of the Regular Marine Corps at any one time shall not exceed 2 percent of the enlisted strength now or hereafter authorized for the active list of the Regular Marine Corps.

(c) The number of commissioned and warrant women officers on the active list of the Regular Marine Corps at any one time shall not exceed 10 percent of the authorized number of enlisted women of the Regular Marine Corps.

(d) From the women officers serving in the grade of major or above in the Marine Corps, one officer may be detailed to duty in the personnel department of the Marine Corps as an assistant to the director of personnel, Marine Corps. She shall have the rank of colonel while so serving, and shall be entitled to the pay and allowances as are now or may be hereafter prescribed by law for a colonel of the regular Marine Corps, and her regular status as a commissioned officer in the Marine Corps shall not be disturbed by reason of such detail. The provisions of section 207 of this title shall apply in the same manner, and under the same relative conditions, to women officers of the Regular Marine Corps who have or shall have served as an assistant to the Director of Personnel of the Marine Corps.

SEC. 214. (a) The Secretary of the Navy, under the circumstances and in accordance with regulations prescribed by the President, may terminate the commission of any woman officer commissioned in the Regular Navy or Marine Corps pursuant to this title.

(b) The Secretary of the Navy, under such regulations as he may prescribe, may terminate the enlistment of any enlisted woman in the Regular Navy or Marine Corps, and each such person whose enlistment is so terminated shall be discharged from the service.

SEC. 215. The provisions of this title shall not be construed to apply to women officers of the Navy Nurse Corps.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from Maine is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. Chairman, I asked to dispense with further reading of the amendment because this is very similar to the bill we have been discussing, except that we take the Senate bill and bring it up to date in accordance with the Unification Act which has been approved and made law since the Senate acted on the original bill.

This amendment merely proposes that the House adopt the Senate bill, which provides regular status as well as reserve status for women in our armed services.

I am not going to talk long about this amendment because the issue is very simple and very clear. The heads of our armed services have vigorously stated they have a permanent need for women in regular status in their Regular Establishments. The Senate granted their request. The House Armed Services Committee refused to grant the request and gives only a reserve status.

Either the Members of the House accept the statement of the military heads as to their needs, as the Senate did, or

they do not. Reserve status is temporary. At most it offers no career attraction that is necessary to obtain the desired caliber of women. It seems to me that quality is better than quantity.

A vote for this amendment is a vote for regular status for women in our armed services. A vote against the amendment is a vote against such regular status.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, when the proposition was brought up in the early days of the war to have a Women's Corps as an auxiliary to the Army and the Navy, it was brought before us in a draft measure. There was so much opposition to drafting women into the Army and Navy that a compromise bill was adopted which made them a volunteer part of the Army and Navy with voluntary enlistment.

The proposal before us in the form of this amendment, which is a Senate proposal, is to make the women a regular part of the Army. The minute you make the women a regular part of the Army then whenever a draft comes along you draft for the Army and you draft both the boys and the girls for the Army. I opposed that in the early part of the war. I am opposed to it now. I certainly would not want my daughter to be drafted into the Army against her will, and I certainly would not vote to make it possible to draft any other person's daughter into the Army against her will.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and rise in support of the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it is rare that I take exception with my splendid colleagues on the left side of the aisle; in fact, in my 12 years service in this House this is but the fourth time I have taken the floor when I was not charged with the responsibility of a bill. But I feel that some Members have an erroneous conception, judging by the speeches of some of the Members present. In other words, for a long period of time we have told the great royalty of American humanity, to wit, its womanhood: "You have a right to free and equal opportunities." I would like to ask you today why are you turning around and walking back down the hill? Why do you not give to American womanhood her right of participation equal with that of man? If you accept her responsibility at the polls and solicit her support it would seem to me that the least you could do would be to give her a chance to participate in the emoluments and military service as she herself wants to participate.

There is nothing I know of in the Senate bill that would in any manner create a condition detrimental to the womanhood of the United States. I, as an individual, challenge the statement that I would not want my daughter or a female of my family to contribute her part to the continued welfare of our Nation, our form of government, and our way of life.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MITCHELL. Would the gentleman then advocate that we open the military establishments such as West

Point and Annapolis for training our women?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I would do that just as quick as I would for men. If we are going to use women they are entitled to the same participation and protection and to the same academic training as the men have.

Mr. MITCHELL. The gentleman feels that West Point and Annapolis should be made coeducational institutions?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I do not see any reason why they should not be. Since when have men got the right to claim all of the privileges of participation within our Government? Remember, it is the women who help send you and me up here; we cannot overlook that.

Mr. MITCHELL. May I say to the gentleman that my wife served in the Marine Corps during the last war.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I have the greatest respect for the gentleman and his wife because she responded to her national responsibility.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. When the Women's Reserve Corps was called, the women in that corps had to have the same educational background as the men, then in addition to that a training that would qualify them for specific duties which they had to perform during the war.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I wish I could go all the way with what my colleague has said because in some instances the old established commands in the Army and Navy gave the women closer scrutiny for qualifications than they gave manpower because they did not want them in the services.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BROOKS. I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that this bill restricts the promotion of women above the rank of colonel. There is only one colonel. During the war we had in the WAC 140,000 women. The Director of the WAC was a woman. Does the gentleman agree with me in my position that any person who commands 140,000 people in the armed forces should have a greater rank than that of colonel? I made a fight to give the women in the Army components fair treatment in reference to appointments. Will the gentleman agree with that position?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I will not agree with any statement that the women of the United States are not as smart as you and I. My contention is that they have an equal right to demonstrate their mental ability and should not be circumscribed by any particular regulatory measures. I compliment the gentleman from Louisiana for endeavoring to give women their rights of rank.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. What justification is there for permitting women to

go into Reserve components and not permitting them to go into the Regulars?

Mr. SHEPPARD. Of course, the gentleman from Texas is right, and any other concept is subterfuge or position that some people hide behind in order to avoid meeting the issue.

Mr. NICHOLSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SHEPPARD. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. NICHOLSON. If the base pay in the Army is \$50 a month, would the gentleman expect that girls would go into the Army in peacetime at \$50 a month to act as stenographers, for instance?

Mr. SHEPPARD. If the girls desired to do so, my answer would be "Yes." As a matter of fact, they have more applications pending than they know what to do with.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, we can meet this issue today just as well as we can meet it a year from now. By the adoption of the House version of this bill, we are simply postponing making a decision as to whether we want to accept women in the permanent armed forces of the United States. Certainly they have demonstrated during the war period and in the months and years since the shooting war ended that there is a place for them in the armed forces, that they can do a job fully as well as any male soldier can do it, and in certain positions and categories, particularly in hospitals, they can do their job better than any man can do it for them.

Mr. Chairman, we should meet the issue today. Many of the women who are still serving in the WAC and WAVES have been serving for the past 2 years with a feeling of uncertainty, no knowledge as to when the thing would be eliminated, whether it will be extended or not. I talked to a young lady the other night here in Washington, a qualified member of the bar doing a very valuable piece of work with the Navy Department, and she told me she would like to make a career out of her service with the Navy. She said, "If they are going to postpone a permanent decision for another year—I am not getting any younger, I have to look out for my own security, and if this bill passes as the House committee recommends it, I am going to get out and affiliate with a law firm." Undoubtedly there are many other girls thinking along the same line because of this waiting to find out what decision the Congress is going to give, and I fear that a great many of the most valuable members of the women's corps will decide to get out of the service if we simply extend their service for another year and allow beyond that their continuance in the Reserve Corps.

As much as I favor the continuation and development of a strong Reserve Corps of women for both the Army and the Navy, I intend to follow the recommendations in this respect of the leaders of our armed forces, both the Army and

the Navy, on their testimony that these women are needed, and are needed permanently. I am not disturbed by the argument made by the gentleman from Illinois that by our action today some future Congress may take advantage of the situation and pass legislation drafting women. If that issue is ever faced by a future Congress, it will be known by them that women served during World War II and on what basis they served, and that Congress can solve its own problem. I hope that the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Maine will be adopted, and that we can by so doing express not only our appreciation for the service that the women rendered during the war, but our faith in the service that they will render, and the strength that they will add to the armed forces of the United States in peacetimes.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SHORT. It has been stated by several Members here this afternoon that there is not one in our Military Establishment who wants to accept the bill as written, but that they demand that the women be placed in the permanent establishment. Now that simply is not true. As far as the high officers are concerned, and from major down to second lieutenant and an overwhelming majority of the enlisted men, they are against the corps. They want men. So, I think the committee has been very fair to arrive at this compromise, and many of us who will vote for the bill as reported, if this amendment is adopted will be forced to vote against it.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I am not criticizing the committee. All I can do is to follow the testimony presented in the hearings. In this case, when it is a matter of determining the policy of the armed service, I will follow the recommendations of the heads of the armed services rather than some rumor, what some second lieutenant or enlisted man may say about it.

Mr. BRYSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

I can see no justifiable reason for discriminating between men and women in their privileges, opportunities, and duties to preserve and protect our country. As a matter of fact, in a great many instances, the women, who now outnumber the men, have a great deal more at stake than do we men. The women of our country now own 70 percent of the Nation's private wealth; they own 48 percent of all railroad stocks and they own 40 percent of all the homes in the United States. Our women are charged with the expenditure of the greater portion of our incomes. Women spend 75 percent of all money spent for clothing; they spend 67 percent of all money spent for consumer goods and 80 percent of all money spent for food. Were it not for the shrewd, keen, discriminating judgment of our women, we men who are struggling to provide money for the support of our families would have even greater difficulties than we now have.

There are many women who are ambitious to make military life their permanent careers. Unless the Smith amendment is adopted, and in the event the House bill becomes a law as written, women will not have the same opportunities as are accorded men.

Need I remind you of the words from the poet Rudyard Kipling who very well said, "The female of the species is more deadly than the male."

American women are not bystanders of war. They play a vital role in virtually every phase of its prosecution.

War has a curious way of speeding up all historical processes and pushing people and their societies much more rapidly into the future than they would ever move under normal peacetime processes.

For instance, it speeded up, even more rapidly in the last war, the revolution in the life of women. We forget that it is not only about 100 years since women were first admitted to any universities in America; that they obtained the franchise only after World War I; and that only during the Second World War were all restrictions on their possible activities lifted, with their admission into the last hitherto exclusively male occupation: the armed forces.

War is inevitably a revolutionary force in the life of women. There are those indeed who, like Max Lerner, go as far as to say that "when the classic work on the history of women comes to be written the biggest force of change in their lives will turn out to have been war." Whether or not so dramatic a generalization be accepted, there can be no question as to the dynamic effect of war in accentuating trends and accelerating changes in the life of women which otherwise would follow but slowly upon new phases of industrial organization or community need.

Not only in China but in India, the Latin-American countries, in Great Britain and Australia—everywhere—women have stepped over the threshold into a new era. Many have faced situations straining the utmost strength of mind and spirit—exile, internment, the misery of occupation, the slow starvation of their children.

To the extent that their nations have been involved in the war, women have suffered and toiled to meet the emergency.

Over the radio came the sensational announcement: Women are to replace men in every possible capacity in the Nation's industrial, operational, military, and defense fields.

In answer to the call came thousands of women—schoolgirls, store clerks, waitresses, housewives, domestics—ready to produce, to invent, to organize, to administer—in short, to keep all the wheels of national life turning while all available manpower was drafted in the country's defense.

Could women run the country in the case of emergency? Could they take over the factories, railroads, farms, transport, communications, and civilian defense?

The answer to this question was given daily by the crews of competent women mechanics servicing bombers, by girl workers who handled thousands of rivets

with speed and precision in the plants, by women swinging heavy picks and shovels on airdrome sites, by girl grease monkeys wielding monkey wrenches on auto and airplane engines. Women's technical, mechanical, and administrative aptitudes constituted one of the greatest surprises of the recent war. "Women lack strength—women lack experience—women lack traditions of craftsmanship"—such were the objections of men when they heard that women were to take over their jobs in the defense industries.

But it took only a few short months for girl workers in airplane factories to prove that they could keep up with the tempo of production set by men workers.

The legend of women's frailty has thus been exploded by the manifold activities in which women have distinguished themselves in war. A United States surgeon made an investigation to determine the comparative physical capacities of both men and women in industry—from the surgical point of view.

He discovered that women in railway trades were less subject to injury than men, due to the fact that they were more careful, possessed a superior quickness of action, and a keener perception. With regard to industrial accidents, fractures did not occur as readily, because women's bones are denser and more elastic. Women of middle age were less subject to heart strain and their blood vessels were in better condition than in men of the same age.

"Those girls aren't afraid to get their hands dirty," said the president of one great company employing thousands of women. "They aren't afraid to work. They put on overalls and tie up their hair or cut it off. And in 12 weeks they were making 900 different kinds of tools and making them well."

That comment was made to a group of newspaperwomen who toured American war plants from coast to coast, and reported on the part women were playing in producing war material.

In an aircraft plant on the Pacific Coast, the vice president showed them a fuselage assembly. "See that line?" he said. "First all-woman assembly line of a major part in the history of aircraft. Look at their fingers go."

Farther on he pointed to a hooded woman with a gas torch. "Hardest job in the place," he murmured. "Aluminum welding. All women doing it. Can't beat them."

A former school teacher in another aircraft plant figured out a new way to do a paint job. She saved 8 hours a plane. Women are naturally nimble with their fingers. Once they understand a job, they take to it like a duck to water.

Women who had never worked before found that their natural gift for using their hands was standing them in good stead. A woman down on her knees cutting a sheet of steel with a burner's torch uses the same keen eye required to stitch up a hem on a sewing machine. Ironing out the seams of a life belt uses the same abilities as ironing the family laundry. The woman who used to drive the kids to school ran tractors carrying materials in the biggest plants.

Training classes developed character, too, helping women to prove that they can work steady hours without fatigue or interruptions.

Between five and six million women were fighters in the late war. Their greater place in industry after the war was assured. They had earned it.

An official of a big rubber company went all the way with his enthusiasm. "It's the working women," he said, "who won this war."

Yes, and other women also "went to war," mothers and wives, sisters and sweethearts. And the battles they fought required no less courage than was demanded of the men on the battle lines. When we honor our heroes—our fighting men—let us not forget those who never heard a gun or saw a battleship, but who were just as truly heroic.

The gravest battle that ever was fought, Shall I tell you where and when? On the maps of the world you will find it not;

It was fought by the mothers of men.

Lt. Col. Mary Agnes Brown, top-ranking Wac in the southwest Pacific command, predicted recently that, if there is another war, women will be on an even footing with men. We all hope and pray that the proof of Colonel Brown's prediction will never be known, but you can put it down as a fact that the women have now made a permanent place for themselves in our military services. Congressman E. E. Cox, of Georgia, has even proposed a joint military academy to train young women as officers in the various services—a West Point for women. Congresswoman EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, of Massachusetts, who sponsored the original WAC legislation, and is generally regarded as the godmother of the women's services, is certain that there will be a permanent training program.

The women have done almost everything except fight. During the last war at one marine base women took over the whole transportation set-up from keeping the records to overhauling and driving the cars and trucks. The accident rate went sharply down. At another base the male marines gasped when a truckload of dungaree-clad women drove in. But they gasped even harder when the women went efficiently to work installing a complete electrical system.

Women may do fine work in such fields as plumbing and truck driving, but there they are only pinchhitters for the men. What is more important is that the Army and Navy learned, as private business learned long ago, that there are fields in which men are only awkward, restless pinchhitters for women.

That is why 6,000 WACs were sent to England before the invasion—mostly for administrative and specialized work. It is why 87 percent of the enlisted personnel in Marine headquarters in Washington were women, why the Navy assigned more than 1,000 Waves to the postal service.

The fact that women up to now have had little to say about the management of the world's affairs—and, therefore, are not responsible for the conditions that led to the world upheaval, does not,

however, preclude their grave responsibility for the future.

Women are in the majority in Europe, and also in the United States. In particular, the young business and professional women will be the shock troops of this onward march. They are the responsible and trained workers in the great army striving for better conditions in a better world.

The women of the United States have everything at stake in the world—their future, the future of their children, the future of their country. As an even better organized and informed phalanx of public opinion, they will be heard and they will have their way if theirs is the right, the unselfish, the progressive way.

Mr. Chairman, again I urge favorable action on the pending amendment so as to provide equal and unrestricted opportunities for the services of our women.

You need not be frightened by the suggestion made by the gentleman from Illinois that the adoption of this amendment would necessarily be followed, in the event selective service is revived, with the induction of women along with men. Special legislation would have to be passed dealing with that subject. The passing of this amendment by no means commits us to the drafting of women.

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from South Carolina, I think, has truthfully pointed out certain biological differences between the sexes. He says that the female is more deadly than the male. I agree to that. "Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned."

There are several aspects to this bill that I do not care to discuss here publicly. We discussed them in detail and rather intimately in our committee. Realizing those biological differences, we were told that 8 percent of all the women while they were in the service became pregnant. I do not cast aspersions. I tell facts. We were told that because of certain biological differences in the sexes when they reach the age of menopause or go through the change of life, with the physical disabilities or illnesses that result, the cost of the program would be stupendous if not prohibitive. Those are a few of the fundamental and essential facts, unpleasant as they might be, which we must as legislators wisely and soberly consider.

I repeat that if this proposed amendment offered by my very good friend, for whom I have the highest esteem and the greatest admiration, indeed, a little fond affection, and with whom I traveled so many thousands of miles in a plane over Europe and the Near East and north Africa—must as I would like to see her wishes granted and knowing that she is standing firmly by her sex, and I would not have much respect for her if she did not, I repeat, if the amendment is adopted, many of us who would like to save what we have will be constrained to vote against the bill. I hope the amendment will be defeated and that the bill as reported will be passed, because I do think it is in the interest of our national defense.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, the argument of my good friend from Missouri in opposition to this amendment really amazes me, as it does every Member of this House. Said he, "If we only could discuss publicly on the floor of the House those things that we discussed behind closed doors." The intimation was that there would not be much support for this amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Maine. Those are the old arguments that have been made down through centuries of time. I want to say again, as one who knows something about the character of the services rendered by women during the recent war, that those services were on the highest possible order.

If the services of these women were not essential in the military forces of the country, every high-ranking officer from General Eisenhower down would not support the bills that were before the committee. This bill has already gone through the other body. The adoption of the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Maine will make it permanent legislation. I believe the membership of the House is well enough acquainted with the womanhood of America, and particularly those who served with the armed forces, to know that they gave the best—they gave everything they had to the cause that we were fighting for. I believe it is just a little unfair to cast aspersions on their character and the type of service that they rendered in an effort to defeat this legislation. I trust that the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from Maine will be adopted.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. The gentleman will also agree that the behavior record of the women on the basis of the records of the War Department is better than the record made for behavior by the males.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. It has always been stated when the question of morals of the women in the armed forces ever came up in the committee that the moral standards of women in the service forces of the country were at least on a par with those of women in the civilian population of the country. I believe that that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the only thing I have to say in rebuttal is that the committee voted 26 to 1 to report the bill. It seems very strange and rather unusual that at this time there should be this opposition arising on the floor. The one vote in opposition was cast by proxy.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

May I ask the proponent of the amendment, the gentlewoman from Maine,

whether title III is included in the bill under the amendment offered by her?

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. The bill will include the Air Force, which the gentleman is referring to in accordance with the Unification Act.

Mr. FLETCHER. That is title III?

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. That is correct.

Mr. FLETCHER. I thank the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

The question was taken; and the Chairman being in doubt, on a division there were—ayes 42, noes 54.

Mr. HESELTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered; and the Chairman appointed Mr. SHAVER and Mrs. SMITH of Maine to act as tellers.

The Committee again divided; and the tellers reported there were—ayes 40, noes 66.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. SMITH of Maine: On page 34, after line 12, and before the word "amend" insert the following:

"Sec. 302. Except in time of war or declared national emergency, active duty assignment of women in the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps shall be limited strictly to the maintenance and organization of the cognizant Women's Reserve component: *Provided*, That any such active-duty period shall not exceed 2 years: *Provided further*, That the numbers of women Reservists on active duty at any time in each of the armed services shall not exceed 10 officers and 25 enlisted women."

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. Chairman, from all my observations I learn that many of the bureaus in the Army, Navy, and Air Force are planning on using women permanently in various ways, especially in the Medical Bureau and in communications of the Navy.

This amendment merely proposes that active duty of women in the Reserves be limited to administering the Women's Reserve program, and for no other purpose. They either need these women permanently or they do not. It is not a question of filling regular jobs that the ordinary civil-service personnel could or would perform. It is the proposition of keeping a skeleton Women's Reserve organization only for expansion purposes in time of war or national emergency.

If these women are needed permanently, let us take them in the permanent organization; if they are not, let us set up the Women's Reserve in exactly the same way as the men's Reserve.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I have great admiration for the gentleman from Maine who has just addressed us, both personally and officially, but it occurs to me that the position she now takes in reference to this amendment is exactly the reverse of that which she took in reference to the amendment which the Committee just voted down. The gentleman's other amendment would make

the women's components of the armed forces permanent and would integrate them into the armed forces. This amendment would actually deny to these women the opportunity to serve save in a very limited and restricted capacity.

The House bill as reported by the committee gives the armed forces the right to call into the women's components of the armed forces the needed number of women to fill the jobs which they can properly fill, taking into consideration their training and their experience and their ability. It gives the armed forces the opportunity to call them for an unlimited time and give them a real chance to serve the Nation. It preserves to these women to a large extent the careers which they began during the course of the late World War. I think it is quite unfair to these women who served in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps to deny to them an opportunity to continue in some capacity. If we stand by the bill reported to the House, these women will then be called into active service as Reserves, will be given an opportunity to serve for an unlimited assignment, to continue with that type of work that they have been trained to do, and to render to the Nation the high type of service which they performed during the late conflict.

I hesitate, yes, Mr. Chairman, to take issue with the gentleman from Maine who offered this amendment, but in the interest of national defense, in the interest of those who have loyally served, I am opposed to the amendment and hope that we vote it down.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, a careful reading of the amendment would seem to indicate that were this amendment adopted it would represent a diametrically opposite point of view to that expressed by the gentleman from Maine when her previous amendment was offered and acted upon. I am sure that a very large majority of the 8,000 women now in the service would not approve of this amendment because it would limit the total number of officers and enlisted personnel to 10 and 25. In other words, this would simply establish an inadequate Reserve Corps for women and that is all there is to it.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. I yield to the gentleman from Maine.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Is it not true that it is planned to use these women on active duty permanently and for indefinite and unlimited periods of time when actually the normal concept of the Reserve is inactive status—since Reservists are not accorded equal treatment with Regulars. In other words, you are using women just as you would Regulars without giving them Regular status and instead placing them under the misnomer of Reserve.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. We are not trying to set up an inactive Reserve. We are trying to provide a vehicle through which these many excellent women who are now in the service may

continue in the service, if they so desire. I thought the gentleman from Maine was for that.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. REES. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, as I understand the amendment of the gentleman from Maine, she would clarify the status of women who are included under this proposed legislation. If women are in reserve, it should be determined whether they may be called at their own will or choice, or whether they are subject to the call of officials of the Department of Defense at any time they choose to call them. Furthermore, it should be determined whether the women under this legislation are to serve immediately, or only in event of emergency.

It is my contention that these women you are going to put in the armed services should know when they join the Reserve whether they are going to be called into service during wartime or called at the will of the Army or Navy officers. I think that is important. If this legislation is adopted I believe they ought to be called for emergency needs, if they are called at all. You should not call them in the armed forces because they are stenographers or typists or clerks. These women during peacetime can serve under the civil service rather than in the armed forces. I think the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maine should be adopted.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REES. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. ANDREWS of New York. Roughly there are 8,000 in the service today. My information is a very large number of them wish to continue to serve, even as a part of the Reserve. I may say that they cannot be called to active duty without their consent.

Mr. REES. These 8,000 will serve anyway under the proposed legislation, at least for a year. The thing that concerns me most is that there may be wholesale employment of women by the armed services, under this legislation, that should be done under civil service.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Kansas has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Maine [Mrs. SMITH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mrs. SMITH of Maine) there were—ayes 21, noes 41.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. POWELL:

Page 13, line 16, after the period insert: "There shall be no discrimination on account of race, color, religion, national origin in the appointment of officers, commissioned or warrant, or in original enlistments or reenlistments, or in the training or utilization of personnel selected under this act."

Page 31, line 16, after the period insert: "Sec. 216. There shall be no discrimination on account of race, color, religion, na-

tional origin in the appointment of officers, commissioned or warrant, or in original enlistments or reenlistments, or in the training or utilization of personnel selected under this act."

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, this is the amendment that I presented to the Armed Services Committee during the hearings on this bill. I would like to say in the beginning that it does not represent the type of amendment that I would offer personally. If I offered an amendment personally, it would be one aimed at complete elimination of segregation. This amendment is aimed at discrimination only. I am offering it on behalf of hundreds of Negro women who served in World War II in the WAC and other auxiliaries and who are now meeting with difficulty in reenlisting.

A member of our committee just said to me, "Did not Negro women serve in World War II in the auxiliary corps?" I said, "They did." He said, "So what is the need of this amendment now?" The answer is simply that if we had the same kind of attitude now that we had during World War II there would be no need for this amendment. It so happens that there is an atmosphere here in this House which is not the same atmosphere that we had during World War II. A year ago we had a bill before us to provide a permanent nurses' corps. At that time I pointed out that in the United States Navy alone there were 19,333 Negro men and only 1 Negro nurse. That was refuted on the floor. I make the same statement again today on the basis of facts furnished me this morning by the Office of the Secretary of the Navy. There is only one Negro nurse in the entire United States Navy and there are 19,333 men, and that nurse is Ensign Mary Devoe, assigned to the dispensary here in Washington, D. C. That is due to the fact that we did not write in the nurses' bill a year ago my provision that qualified Negro women would have a chance to serve their country as nurses.

This question is important, whether you realize it or not. It is so important that the Secretary of the Armed Forces is calling a conference Monday in his office with the Secretary of the Army, and the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Air Corps plus four outstanding Negro leaders, to discuss what can be done to see that the mistake we are making in this House will not carry over into the armed forces.

It is a mistake, my friends, to limit our Army and Navy so that 15,000,000 loyal American citizens do not have written into the law provisions that they can have a chance to serve their nation. That is all this amendment does. It does not aim at abolishing segregation. It merely says that here we are giving Negro women a chance to serve in the corps of our Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force. This they did in World War II, and, I have no doubt, they would be doing so now, had we the same attitude now as we had during the war. I leave this with you on your hearts. It is dear to us. It is an American problem. It is a problem whether democracy is going to be the first line of our defense. It is a problem not of abolishing segregation—I am talking

to my friends from the South. It is not aimed at that. This amendment does not say "segregation." This amendment says "discrimination." Give Negro women a chance to serve. I would personally be in favor of a stronger amendment, but I am offering this on behalf of the Negro women who have served and want to serve now that we are about to set up a corps in our armed services. How long can you continue your blind way?

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot see a need for an amendment like this in the bill as drawn by the committee at the present time. We do not set up a permanent organization in the armed services under this bill; we put these women in reserve components, and we call them into service from time to time when they are needed, not in accordance with their racial characteristics, but rather in accordance with their ability. We have them in the Reserves all over this land, and when a position is vacant they are called in voluntarily, with their consent, to perform a duty in the armed forces of the Nation. There is no attempt to separate anyone who presently is in service and who desires to transfer to the Reserves. There is no attempt in this bill to segregate them or discriminate against anyone. The word "discrimination" is not used anywhere in this legislation. It is simply a method of preserving the services of those who have served the Nation during the last World War. It is likewise a method of placing in reserve and calling voluntarily to active duty those young women who have the ability, who have the training, who have the knowledge, and who have the characteristics needed by our services to perform a useful function. I submit that it is not a question there of discrimination but a question of national defense.

When I speak of national defense, it is something close to my heart. I do not like to hear people on the street and I do not like to hear Members of Congress continually refer to discrimination in our armed services. I would far rather hear them talk about saving this Nation and preserving the integrity of our Government and institutions and doing something forthright to raise the efficiency of our armed services which we present as a defense to a common enemy. I think the time is long since past when we have to prate about discrimination and things of that sort in the armed services. The time is here to get behind the armed services and give them the support they are entitled to receive from us in an hour of international crisis.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. This amendment would merely be tying the hands of the armed forces.

Mr. BROOKS. I thank the gentleman for his observation.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. POWELL].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. POWELL) there were—ayes 12, noes 63.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CANFIELD, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (S. 1641) to establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps and the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, and for other purposes, pursuant to House Resolution 545, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en bloc.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time and was read the third time.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. BROOKS. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. BROOKS moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Armed Services.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "An act to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, and for other purposes."

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ROBERTSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record.

PERMISSION TO EXTEND REMARKS AT THIS POINT

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Times-Herald carries a headline today to the effect that ERP Administrator Hoffman calls the \$5,300,000,000 not enough and serves notice that it may prove insufficient to cover the degree of recovery that is sought.

I voted for this plan but so far as I am concerned shall not vote another dollar,

particularly at this session of Congress, for this proposition until we have given consideration to some of the domestic problems affecting our own people.

I refer particularly to the subject of housing, which the joint committee of the House and Senate have investigated and reported to be one of the greatest problems confronting the Nation today.

I know that the housing problem is a vital one in the State of Connecticut and in my own Third Congressional District. The mayor of New Haven has recently petitioned the Governor of our State for a special session of the general assembly to authorize tax concessions to speed housing construction.

The Governor has rejected the plea of the mayor for a special session on the ground that, and I quote: "We will have to wait and see what Congress does on housing." The Governor says he is not adverse to calling a special session if one is necessary, but that, like everybody, he hopes for legislation on housing out of Washington in the near future.

There are several other so-called domestic matters in which our own people are vitally interested which in my opinion demand attention and are entitled to priority before we even begin to talk about further European commitments.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PATTERSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article by the Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL.

Mr. DEVITT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. KEATING asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial and a statement from a newspaper.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING UNDER VETERANS' REGULATIONS

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill S. 1393, an act to increase the permitted rate of allowance and compensation for training on the job under Veterans' Regulation No. 1-A, as amended, and concur in the Senate amendments to the House amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed by the House amendment insert the following:

"That paragraph 6 of part VIII of Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"6. While enrolled in and pursuing a course under this part (including an institutional on-farm training course) such person, upon application to the Administrator, shall be paid a subsistence allowance of \$65 per month, if without a dependent or dependents, or \$90 a month, if he has a dependent or dependents, including regular holidays and leave not exceeding 30 days in a calendar year: Except, That (1) While so enrolled and pursuing a course of full-time institutional training, such person shall be paid a subsistence allowance of \$75 per month, if without a dependent or dependents, or \$105 per month if he has one dependent or \$120 per month if he has more than one dependent, and (2) while so enrolled and pursuing a course of part-time

institutional training, including a course of institutional on-farm training, or other combination course, such person shall be paid, subject to the limitations of this paragraph, additional subsistence allowance in an amount bearing the same relation to the difference between the basic rates and the increased rates provided in (1) hereof as the institutional training part of such course bears to a course of full-time institutional training. Such person attending a course on a part-time basis, and such person receiving compensation for productive labor, whether performed as part of his apprenticeship or other training on the job at institutions, business or other establishments, or otherwise, shall be entitled to receive such lesser sums, if any, as subsistence or dependency allowances as may be determined by the Administrator: *Provided*, That in no event shall the rate of such allowance plus the compensation received exceed \$210 per month for a veteran without a dependent, or \$270 per month for a veteran with one dependent, or \$290 for a veteran with two or more dependents: *Provided further*, That only so much of the compensation as is derived from productive labor based on the standard work-week for the particular trade or industry, exclusive of overtime, shall be considered in computing the rate of allowances payable under this paragraph."

"Sec. 2. So much of paragraph 3 of part VII of Veterans' Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, as precedes the first proviso, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"3. While pursuing training prescribed herein and for 2 months after his employability is determined, each veteran pursuing a course under this part, shall be paid a subsistence allowance of \$65 per month, if without a dependent or dependents, or \$90 per month, if he has a dependent or dependents: Except, That (1) each veteran pursuing a course of full-time institutional training under this part shall be paid a subsistence allowance of \$75 per month, if without a dependent or dependents, or \$105 per month, if he has one dependent, or \$120 per month, if he has more than one dependent, and (2) each veteran enrolled in and pursuing a course of institutional on-farm training or other combination course, under this part shall be paid, subject to the limitations of this paragraph, additional subsistence allowance in an amount bearing the same relation to the difference between the basic rates and the increased rates provided in (1) hereof as the institutional training part of such course bears to a course of full-time institutional training."

"Sec. 3. This act shall take effect on the 1st day of April 1948.

"Resolved, That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House to the title of the above-entitled bill and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

"In lieu of the matter inserted by the House amendment insert the following: 'An act to provide additional subsistence allowances and to raise the ceilings on wages and allowances pertaining to certain veterans.'"

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RESERVE ACT OF 1948

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill S. 1641, an act to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Reserve components of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and

Marine Corps, and for other purposes, with the amendments of the House thereto, insist on the House amendments and ask for a conference with the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan. [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. SHAFER, SHORT, COLE of New York, BROOKS, and DURHAM.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BRADLEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address he made before the Cosmos Club.

Mr. TALLE (at the request of Mr. VAN ZANDT) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter addressed to him by Mr. F. W. Hoffman, president of the Cudahy Packing Co.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and the conclusion of special orders heretofore entered, I may address the House for 10 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GILLIE asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article from the Fort Wayne News-Sentinel.

Mr. LANE asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial appearing in the Daily Evening Item of Lynn, Mass.

Mr. LANE asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter from Dean K. Webster.

Mr. TEAGUE (at the request of Mr. COMBS) was granted permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts asked and was granted permission to extend the remarks she made earlier today and include certain resolutions passed by national organizations.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an item from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin asked and was granted permission to extend the remarks he made in Committee of the Whole and include extraneous material.

SPECIAL ORDER VACATED

Mr. DEVITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order previously granted to me to address the House for 30 minutes on Friday next be vacated.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. DEVITT] is recognized for 30 minutes.

WE MUST CREATE A JOINT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

Mr. DEVITT. Mr. Speaker, it is my considered opinion that the most neglected and incompetent of our national security efforts is in the field of intelligence. We contemplate spending billions of dollars for building a 70-group air force. Legislation is in the hopper providing for a new selective-service law, and arguments are presented in favor of universal military training. The moth balls may soon be removed from our war vessels, and the marines are refurbishing their armor. Fifteen billion dollars will be spent in the next fiscal year for national defense, but in the most vital field of all, that of intelligence, we are woefully ill prepared both to prevent the recurrence of another great world war or to intelligently fight it in the event that we should become so engaged.

The intelligence fiasco at Bogota has only served to high light the condition of all of our intelligence services in the United States. The event in the Colombian capital may well be the motivating factor which will bring to the consciousness of the Congress and to the realization of the people of the country the need for a thorough study and the necessary revamping and strengthening of the intelligence agencies of the country.

In order to accomplish this purpose, I have today introduced a House concurrent resolution which sets up a joint committee on intelligence. Under this proposal, 18 Members, 9 from each of the Houses of Congress, will constitute the committee. It is charged with the responsibility of making a continuing study of the programs and activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and of the intelligence services of the Department of National Defense and the Department of State. It is required to evaluate the operations of those agencies and to review the progress achieved in the execution and administration of their programs.

The field of intelligence, insofar as it pertains to military operations, has not been fully utilized in modern American warfare, and as it serves as a preventive for future conflicts it has been almost entirely neglected. The responsibility of this committee will be to make a thorough study of our intelligence activities with the end in view of recommending an over-all program for their efficient future operation.

The members of the committee from the other body are three each from the Committees on Foreign Relations, Armed Services, and Judiciary. Three members each are taken from the comparable committees of the House.

There is no committee of Congress which can be said to have jurisdiction over the broad subject of intelligence. The Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees of the two bodies exercise legislative domain over foreign affairs and the Department of State, and, accordingly, have jurisdiction over the intelligence service of the State Department. The Armed Services Committees of the two bodies have supervision over the naval and military intelligence services of the armed forces. There is no comparable committee of the Congress which could be said to exercise jurisdiction

over the recently created Central Intelligence Agency. The Judiciary Committees of the two Houses have a very broad jurisdiction, including that of the subject of espionage, and since these committees handle matters of a legal and judicial nature, it is provided that the Judiciary Committees of the two bodies should furnish the remaining one-third of the membership of the joint committee.

It is not the purpose of this resolution to deprive any committee of Congress of any of its traditional jurisdiction. It will be noted that this joint committee is not given legislative jurisdiction over any aspect of the United States intelligence services, and that it is provided that the committee shall give aid and assistance to the various standing committees of the Congress.

It will be recalled that the Legislative Reorganization Act of the Congress in section 133 (f) provided that the hearings of all committees of Congress are to be public except where by majority vote the committee decides to hold executive sessions for the purpose of marking up bills or for other similar purposes. Section 4 of the resolution I have introduced today specifically provides that this joint committee shall hold its hearings and conduct its business in private except where by majority vote the committee orders public hearings. This provision is necessary for obvious reasons. The field of intelligence is a secretive one and it would not be conducive to the best interests of this Nation for a committee of the Congress to hold public hearings on such a confidential subject as intelligence.

I said a while ago that our Government intelligence organizations in this country are woefully inefficient and incompetent. The existence of this condition is not necessarily attributable to the men in charge of these operations. The fault may lie deeper than that, to wit, in the lack of appreciation of the importance of intelligence to our military leaders, to the public generally, and, maybe it can be said, to the Members of Congress. Regardless of where the fault lies, it is our responsibility to do something about it. This resolution proposes to get us started on the road.

The shortcomings of the Central Intelligence Agency have been manifest, especially insofar as they relate to the correlation of their activities with those of the State Department.

I can testify from my own observations of the operations of the naval intelligence service that, during the war years at least, this agency did not come anywhere near serving the purpose for its being. I think the same thing can truthfully be said about the military intelligence service.

That the State Department's intelligence and security functions have not been efficiently and properly conducted is evidenced by a recent exclusive report, written by Mr. Gus Nordin, a Washington representative of the St. Paul Sunday Pioneer Press, in which it is reported that the text of a very important secret telegram prepared by the late President Roosevelt for transmission to Chungking, China, reached Moscow before the actual

telegram left Washington in April 1945. Happenings such as this are recorded over and over again in the article to which I refer.

The public has recently become very conscious of the importance of atomic energy in the field of peace and war. We must reach a similar public awareness of the importance of intelligence in the field of peace and war. The Seventy-ninth Congress, recognizing the magnitude of the subject of atomic energy, created a joint committee of Congress to exercise a constant legislative jurisdiction over the subject. I urge that this Congress, recognizing the equal, or in some respects greater, importance of the subject of intelligence, take similar action by creating a joint committee on intelligence.

There is a great and wide field for the operation of this committee. We must study the correlation between our various intelligence services and determine the best course for their betterment. The Federal Bureau of Investigation now confines its activities to the continental limits of the United States so that with the Central Intelligence Agency and the various departmental intelligence services rests the sole responsibility for the collection, evaluation, and dissemination of information from foreign sources of vital importance to the security and welfare of this country. At a time when Russia is stretching its tentacles of power over much of the world, probably having the United States in mind as its ultimate objective, we must be constantly on our toes to detect in advance its antagonistic movements. The Communist gang in Moscow conducts its aggrandizement through subterfuge and chicanery. It operates through infiltration and cunning design. It is only through an efficient and well organized intelligence service that we will be able to anticipate and combat deceitful and stealthy conduct of this kind.

I have spoken informally with Admiral Hillenkoeter, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, of my intention to introduce this resolution today, and he has expressed his approbation of it. He told me that while he believes there is much merit to the independent position of his agency in the field of government, he feels somewhat at a loss for the lack of some specific committee of the Congress to whom he can turn for confidential guidance and counsel and to whom he can resort for needed changes in the legislative operations of his agency.

I urge that the Congress take immediate action to create a joint committee on intelligence so that we may proceed with dispatch to repairing this most neglected field of national defense.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DEVITT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. I rise for the purpose of commending the gentleman from Minnesota for the very forceful suggestion he has made. It evidences great study and the rare abilities which I know the gentleman from Minnesota possesses.

Mr. DEVITT. I am very thankful to my colleague from New York for his fine commendation.

LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill relating to the Women's Army Corps bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. LeCOMPTE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 1799. An act for the relief of Eva L. Dudley, Grace M. Collins, and Guy B. Slater; and

H. R. 4981. An act to amend title 17 of the United States Code entitled "Copyrights."

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. LeCOMPTE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on April 20, 1948, present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 3703. An act to authorize transfer of surplus real property to the jurisdiction of the Department of Interior for consolidation of Federal holdings within areas administered by the National Park Service; and

H. R. 4326. An act to amend an act entitled "An act to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved July 1, 1898, and acts amendatory thereof and supplementary thereto.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 52 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, April 22, 1948, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1482. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1949 in the amount of \$650,000 for the legislative branch, Government Printing Office (H. Doc. No. 620); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1483. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1949 in the amount of \$3,000,000 for the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation (H. Doc. No. 621); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1484. A letter from the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend the provisions of title VI of the Public Health Service Act relating to standards of maintenance and operation for hospitals receiving aid under that title; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk

for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. REES: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H. R. 5472. A bill to provide a temporary increase in the compensation of officers and employees of the Federal Government and of the District of Columbia municipal government; with amendments (Rept. No. 1773). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. REES: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H. R. 5667. A bill to provide additional compensation for postmasters and employees of the postal service; with amendments (Rept. No. 1774). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HOPE: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 6248. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to stabilize prices of agricultural commodities; to amend section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, reenacted by the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1776). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. McCULLOCH: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 127. A bill to amend the Judicial Code in respect to the original jurisdiction of the district courts of the United States in certain cases, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 1777). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. REED of Illinois: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 5992. A bill to confirm and establish the titles of the States to lands beneath navigable waters within State boundaries and natural resources within such lands and waters and to provide for the use and control of said lands and resources; without amendment (Rept. No. 1778). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 5517. A bill for the relief of Edward Woolf; with an amendment (Rept. No. 1775). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALBERT:

H. R. 6288. A bill to provide for local taxation of real estate owned by the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. BUCK:

H. R. 6289. A bill to provide for the voluntary admission and treatment of mental patients at St. Elizabeths Hospital; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. FERNANDEZ:

H. R. 6290. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the Vermejo reclamation project, New Mexico; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. GRANGER:

H. R. 6291. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands to the town of Myton, Utah; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. REES:

H. R. 6292. A bill to provide that civil-service examinations to test fitness for employment by the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company in the Canal Zone shall be open only to persons who are citizens of or owe allegiance to the United States; to

the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. R. 6293. A bill to amend the act of June 19, 1934, providing for the establishment of the National Archives, so as to provide that certain fees collected by the Archivist shall be available for disbursement in the interest of the National Archives; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

H. R. 6294. A bill to establish a National War Memorial Auditorium Commission, to provide for construction and maintenance of a National War Memorial Auditorium, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BEALL:

H. R. 6295. A bill to provide increased pensions for widows and children of deceased members and retired members of the Police Department and of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BEALL (by request):

H. R. 6296. A bill to grant additional powers to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to be exercised in cases of emergency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MILLER of Nebraska (by request):

H. R. 6297. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a lien for moneys due hospitals for services rendered in cases caused by negligence or fault of others and providing for the recording and enforcing of such liens," approved June 30, 1939; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CLASON (by request):

H. R. 6298. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 so as to provide full annuities at compensation of half salary or wages for persons who have completed 30 years of service and are 60 years of age; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. JAVITS:

H. R. 6299. A bill to repeal the tax on oleomargarine; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. ANDREWS of New York:

H. R. 6300. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey to the Mystic River Bridge Authority, an instrumentality of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, an easement for the construction and operation of bridge approaches over and across lands comprising a part of the United States naval hospital, Chelsea, Mass.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. HOPE:

H. R. 6301. A bill to provide for retirement of the Government capital in the central and regional banks for cooperatives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. BARRETT:

H. R. 6302. A bill to amend the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, to permit the exercise of certain options on or before August 8, 1950; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. LEMKE:

H. R. 6303. A bill to cancel emergency crop, seed, and feed loans where the maker of such loans has been disabled or killed in action in World War II; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DIRKSEN (by request):

H. J. Res. 379. Joint resolution to provide for the maintenance of public order and the protection of life and property in connection with the Presidential inaugural ceremonies of 1949; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. J. Res. 380. Joint resolution authorizing the granting of permits to the Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies on the occasion of the inauguration of the President-elect in January 1949, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H. J. Res. 381. Joint resolution to provide for the quartering, in certain public buildings in the District of Columbia, of troops participating in the inaugural ceremonies

of 1949; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. BENDER:

H. J. Res. 382. Joint resolution making an appropriation to assist in providing a supply and distribution of farm labor for the calendar years 1948 and 1949; to the Committee on Appropriations.

By Mr. DEVITT:

H. Con. Res. 186. Concurrent resolution to create a Joint Committee on Intelligence; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. HALE:

H. Res. 546. Resolution requesting the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors to review the report on York Harbor, Maine, submitted in House of Representatives Document No. 1088, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session; to the Committee on Public Works.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. DAWSON of Utah:

H. R. 6304. A bill for the relief of Claris U. Yeaton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HINSHAW:

H. R. 6305. A bill for the relief of the aliens Harry Owen White and his sister-in-law, Cecilia M. B. de Silva; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JAVITS:

H. R. 6306. A bill to record the lawful admission to the United States for permanent residence of John Rice Bruckman; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLE of Kansas:

H. R. 6307. A bill for the relief of Mrs. E. M. Westenhaver; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LECOMTE:

H. R. 6308. A bill for the relief of Smith Distributing Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MERROW:

H. R. 6309. A bill for the relief of Henry K. Kaminski; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'BRIEN:

H. R. 6310. A bill for the relief of Rudolph Pavlinek; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. O'TOOLE:

H. R. 6311. A bill to authorize the President of the United States to posthumously award the Congressional Medal of Honor to Marc C. Dauber; to the Committee on Armed Services.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1807. By Mr. CASE of South Dakota: Petition of Mrs. Fern Rose, chairman, Mrs. Goldie Namock, secretary, and 13 other members of the Friendly Circle Extension Club, Westport, S. Dak., urging favorable consideration of Federal-aid-to-education legislation; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

1808. By Mr. REES: Petition signed by E. L. Ganson and a number of other citizens of McPherson County, Kans., in opposition to universal military training; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1809. Also, petition signed by Daisy Grinstead and a number of other citizens of Sedgewick County, Kans., in opposition to universal military training; to the Committee on Armed Services.

1810. Also, petition signed by Harvey Peters and a number of other citizens of Marion County, Kans., in opposition to universal military training and reenactment of selective service; to the Committee on Armed Services.

XCIV—298

SENATE

THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1948

Rev. Clarence W. Cranford, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., offered the following prayer:

In these difficult days, our Father, when no problem seems simple any more and it is not easy to know what we should think and do, give us the wisdom to recognize what is right and the courage to carry it out when we see it. May we never lower our own ideals because there are those in the world who would challenge them. May no fear of others cause us to do that of which we would be ashamed. May we not deviate from our own code of honesty and justice because there are those in the world who recognize no such code. Instead, help us to believe that to choose the side of right is to be on the side of God, and that to be on the side of God is to be on the side that will win the victory over the forces of unrighteousness and oppression. We pray in Jesus' name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. WHERRY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, April 21, 1948, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1393) to increase the permitted rate of allowance and compensation for training on the job under Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 1641) to establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, to authorize the enlistment and appointment of women in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps and the Naval and Marine Corps Reserve, and for other purposes, with amendments in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate; that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill, asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. SHAFFER, Mr. SHORT, Mr. COLE of New York, Mr. BROOKS, and Mr. DURHAM were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had passed the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 94) to establish the Fort Sumter National Monument in the State of South Carolina, with an amendment in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 5933) to permit the temporary free importation of racing shells, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 329. An act for the relief of Gentaro Takahashi;

S. 560. An act to prohibit the operation of gambling ships, and for other purposes;

S. 936. An act for the relief of Burnett A. Pyle;

S. 1021. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to pay salaries and expenses of the chairman, secretary, and clerk of the Fort Peck General Council, members of the Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board, and other committees appointed by said Fort Peck General Council, and official delegates of the Fort Peck Tribes;

S. 1263. An act for the relief of Fire District No. 1 of the town of Colchester, Vt.;

S. 1304. An act to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of Minnesota as a Territory of the United States;

S. 1312. An act for the relief of Jeanette C. Jones and minor children;

S. 1393. An act to provide additional subsistence allowances and to raise the ceilings on wages and allowances pertaining to certain veterans;

S. 1468. An act providing for payment of \$50 to each enrolled member of the Mesquero Apache Indian Tribe from funds standing to their credit in the Treasury of the United States;

S. 1583. An act to provide for the conveyance to the State of Maryland, for the use of the University of Maryland, of the northern portion of a parcel of land previously constituting a part of the campus of the university and previously conveyed by the State of Maryland to the United States for the use of the Bureau of Mines;

S. 1696. An act to amend the act of August 13, 1940 (54 Stat. 784), so as to extend the jurisdiction of the United States District Court, Territory of Hawaii, over Canton and Enderbury Islands;

S. 2278. An act to authorize the sale of certain public lands in San Juan County, Utah, to the Southwest Indian Mission, Inc.;

H. R. 4931. An act to amend title 17 of the United States Code entitled "Copyrights";

S. J. Res. 189. Joint resolution to provide for the issuance of a special postage stamp in honor of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians in Oklahoma; and

S. J. Res. 207. Joint resolution to provide for the commemoration of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the establishment of the Department of the Navy.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

INVESTMENT OF CERTAIN FUNDS IN OBLIGATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

A letter from the Chairman of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to permit investment of funds of insurance companies organized within the District of Columbia in obligations of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

PENALTY MAIL MATTER

A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting, pursuant to section 2 (b) of Public Law 364, approved June 28, 1944, a tabulation showing the number of envelopes, labels, and other penalty inscribed material